



# A tragoedie of

Dialogue of the vniuste vsurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome, and of all the iust abolishing of the same, made by master Barnardine Ochine an Italian, & translated out of Latine into Englishe by Master John Ponet Doctor of Diuinitie, neuer printed before in any language.

Anno Do.

1549





**T**O the moost myghtye, and mooste excel-  
 lent Prince Edward the syrte, by the grace of God  
 kynge of Englande, fraunce, and Irelande, defen-  
 dor of the faith, and in earth Supreme head  
 of the churche of England and Irelande  
 Bernardinus Ochinus Senensis  
 wisheth all fel-  
 citie.



**A**lthough god of his mere  
 goodnes hath geue to your Ma-  
 iestie mooste rich treasures, mooste  
 large kingdomes, speciall grace  
 and loue of al people, mooste high  
 nobilitie of bludde, mooste singu-  
 ler ornamentes bothe of the bo-  
 dy and of the minde, partely com-  
 myng onely of God, and partely through hys fauour  
 obtayned also by your industry, beside other innu-  
 merable graces, whiche it hathe pleased god to endue  
 youre hyghenes withall: Yet neuertheles all these  
 thinges ought not, nor cannot bee compared to that  
 benefite, whiche he hathe shewed vnto you, in geuing  
 vnto you in such a darke world, and in so tendre age,  
 suche clere light of Christ, that albeit in thys worlde  
 he was poore, lowe, dispiced, and crucified, and your  
 Maiestie is so riche, so highe, in so great honour, and  
 all kyndes of felicitie, Yet not only you knowleadge  
 and take hym for youre Lord and maister, but also  
 you loue hym, and that in suche sorte, that for the  
 loue, whiche you beare vnto hym, you haue suche a  
 godly hatred to his enemies, that folowing the bles-  
 sed memory of your father, fyrste with the fauour of  
 god.

god, and than with the aduise of your most dereft bu:  
cle the lord Protector, and of other youre trusty and  
faithfull Counseylours, you haue dryuen hym out of  
your Realmes and Dominions hym, who among all  
the wicked hath the highest place, and is moſte ad:  
uerſary to Chriſt, and therfore is he, and may wour:  
they be called Antichriſte. Now remayneth nothing  
behinde, but that with hym you dryue away alſo (as  
you haue begon) his lyes, errours, Hypocriſy, Sy:  
monye, Robbery, Superſticion, Idolatrye and all  
wickednes. And than if Pirrus, Alexander magnus,  
Anibal, Scipio Africannus, and Julius Ceſar had  
noble victories and tryumphes in thys world, howe  
much more ſhall your noble actes farre paſſe al them,  
and theyr actes in the ſight of God, aungelles, and  
men, for as much as you (being yet but almoſt a babe)  
ſhall ouerthrowe the moſt mighty, moſt crafty, moſt  
wycked, and cruell tyraunte, that euer was, or euer  
ſhalbe in the worlde, deliuering your ſubiectes from  
a longe and miſerable bondage, and captiuitie.

And yet for as muche as many (ſuche as bee blynd,  
and doe take hym for theyr god in erthe, where as  
they ought moſt hyghly to commend your Maieſ:  
tie for your godly proceadinges,) peraduenture will  
ſpeake euill of ſo excellent an acte, I thought it my  
parte, for the duetye that I owe to god, and to your  
Maieſtie to ſhewe vnto ſuch men the beginnyng of  
thys their Papacie, and howe it encreaſed, and came  
into ſo hyghe eſtimacion amonge the blinde people:  
So that they perceauinge theyr weake, falſe, rui:  
nouſe, and deuiliſhe foundacion, maye leaue theyr  
faythe, whiche they haue in hym, and geue glorie to  
God, and to your Maieſtie, to whome I praye god  
to graunte a longe and moſte bleſſed lyfe.



**T**he parties, that doe speake in  
thys Dialogue, are these.

- i. Lucifer, and Beelzebub.
- ii. Boniface the third, & Doctour  
Sapience secretary to the  
Emperour.
- iii. The people of Rome.  
The church of Rome.
- iiii. The Pope, & mans iudgement  
and the people of Rome.
- v. Thomas Massuccius the mas-  
ter of the horse.  
Lepidus the popes chāberlain
- vi. Lucifer and Beelzebub
- vii. Christ and Michaell and  
Gabriell archangels.
- viii. Kinge Henry the viii, and Pa-  
pista, and Thomas Archbis-  
hop of Cantorbury.
- ix. Kyng Edward the vi. and  
the lorde Protector.

**A Tragoedie or Dia**  
logue of the vniust vsurped primacie of the  
Bysshop of Rome & of the iust abolishinge  
of the same, made by master Barnar-  
dine Ochine an Italian, and tran-  
slated out of Latine into En-  
glyshe by Master John Po-  
net Doctoz of Diui-  
nitie

Lucifer                      and                      Beelzebub.



**M**y deare faithfull brethren,  
and mostenttlerly beloued fren-  
des, for asmuche as I knowe  
howe muche profite ariseth of  
the labour & paines that ye take  
in the world, be ye well assuered  
that I woulde not haue wylled  
you to assemble here together in  
hell at thys present, were there not some great pro-  
fyte to our common wealth arising of the same, that  
moued me so to doe. Ye know right wel my brethren  
& frendes howe wzongfully and vniustly our enemy  
God ( without any our fault or deseruing) hurled vs  
downe out of heauen hedlonge, and also ye knowe  
what greuouse tozment, miserie and calamitie we  
haue susteyned euer since that tyme. And althoughe  
he wyll nedes reigne alone in heauē, & cannot abyde  
felowe

Esay. liii.  
Luce. i.  
Apo. iij.



felowe to be ioyned with him in that kingdome but  
 doeth vsurpe it whole to hym selfe alone: yet yf he  
 woulde haue left to vs some dominion in earth, this  
 tozment and misery of ours might better haue bene  
 borne. But wheras we had by muche trauayle and  
 busyness obteyned and inioyed, as it were by oure  
 prescription, of many yeaeres the dominion of the  
 world: se you not howe he hath sent y<sup>e</sup> same some of  
 his whome they call Christe, to marre all that euer  
 we haue made, and vtterly to destroy that we haue  
 buylded: doe ye not perceaue how that fellow Christ  
 beyng nayled vpon the crosse draweth all men to  
 him: and doe ye not perceaue what a number of mē,  
 which befoze were of our syde, be nowe fled to him,  
 there to be souldiars vnderneath his banner. Yf his  
 Apostles beyng but twelue made such a commotion  
 throughe out the whole world, what a ruffell thinke  
 ye wyll so many thousandes make, whome they by  
 theyr teaching haue turned: Certainly by coniecture  
 it shoulde seeme that the matter wyll daylye waxe  
 worse and worse, oules this great mischief be wy-  
 selye prouided for in season, elles wyll it at lengthe  
 come to passe that our scepter royall shalbe plucked  
 out of our handes, and our dominion vtterlye taken  
 away from vs. But after longe consultinge and dy-  
 uising there is now come into my head a very hand-  
 some imaginacion, wherby we may destroy the king-  
 dome of Christ, and stablysh our kynngdome for euer.  
 Yf we attempte to oppresse the members of Christe  
 with persecucion and tyrannye, we shall that waye  
 but increase more and more our owne sorow. For as  
 we be sufficiently taught by longe experience, they  
 bee so persed and led with a zeale to y<sup>e</sup> glozre of god,  
 and

3  
A so carried with a behemēt heuēly spirit, that they  
contempne all thinge sauinge Christ onely. And this  
one thing semeth much to be maruailed at, that whā  
they be spoiled for þ̄ glory of Christ, or bānished into  
exile, or lose their honour, their contrey, their sub-  
staunce, yea or their lyfe also, yet they earnestlye tri-  
umphe and be merye, and they esteeme it as a game  
wonne, and a ioyfull victorie, to suffer all kyndes of  
misfortune for Christes sake, so that þ̄ more sorow  
we doe vnto them, the more glortous & famous they  
be, and we remayne in more misery and confusion.

rom. viii.  
Gala. vi.  
phil. i.

And againe there is one other thing both more hur-  
tefull to vs, and more to be lamented, that is, the rest  
of the people perceauinge them to beare suche ig-  
nominie and rebukes with so merue!ouse patience,  
so ioyfull heartes, and so constant a corage, be com-  
pelled to thinke thus with them selues a say: Truly  
God lyueth, and worketh in thē meruelously, yf they  
had not an experience and a tast (by a secrete mouing  
of the holy spirite) of another lyfe in Christe, muche  
better and happier then this present is, they woulde  
neuer be so delierous to be ridde of this present life.

Iohn. iiii.  
phil. i.  
Gala. ii.  
Deb. xii.  
i. Iohn. v.

And yf it so be that we kyl one Christian man (as the  
fable is of the cutting of one of the heades of Hydra  
the serpent) there springeth as it were of the ashes  
of him a hundreth immediately in his place. When  
we intende to bringe the kingdome of Christe to no-  
thinge, then we make it more noble, riche, and glori-  
ouse. Nowe yf we shoulde attempte to ouercome  
this our auncient enemyes kyngedome by reasons  
and argumentes, we shall doe nothinge elles but in-  
crease our owne rebuke & shame. No man can with-  
stande their wysedome, wherwith if our reasons be  
compared:



compared:truely they bee very foolishenes. Therfore  
it is expedient and necessary, sayng that we can not  
ouercome them in playne felde with open warre, to  
attempt their ouerthrowe by arte, policie, diligence,  
crafte, subteltie, gyle, and prodicion. I haue con-  
ceaued in my head a deceyt of suche weight and im-  
portance, that yf I maye bringe it aboute after  
suche sorte, as I haue deuised it, there was neuer man  
sawe, nether yet in the worlde was there euer anye,  
that deuysed the lyke bothe for the straungenes and  
for the force thereof. I haue deuysed with my selfe,  
to make a certaine newe kingdome replenished with  
idolatrie, supersticion, ignorance, error, falsehode,  
deceit, compulsion, extortion, treason, contencion,  
disorde, tyranny, and crueltie, with spoylinge, mur-  
der, ambition, filthines, iniuries, factions, sectes,  
wickednes, and mischiefe, in the which kingdome all  
kyndes of abhominacion shalbe committed. And not  
withstandinge that it shalbe heaped vp with all kin-  
des of wickednes, yet shall the Christian men thinke  
that to be a spirituall kingdome most holy, and most  
godly. The supreme head of this kyngdome shalbe a  
man, which is not onely sinfull and an abhominable  
robber and thiefe, but he shalbe synne and abhomi-  
nacion it selfe, and yet for all that shall he be thought  
of Christian men a God in earthe, and his members  
beyng most wicked shalbe thought of men most ho-  
lye. God sent hys sonne into the world, who for the  
saluacion of all mankynde hath humbled him selfe  
euen to the deathe of the crosse: and I wyll sende my  
sonne into the worlde, who for the destruccion and  
condempnacion of mankynde, shall so auance hym-  
selfe that he shall take vpon hym to be made equall  
with

Mat. xv. c.  
and. ix. b.  
Luc. xix. a.  
Iohn. xii. f.  
xiii. c.  
i. Timo. i. a.  
phi. ii. a

with God. Thys is our counsell and wittie innenci-  
on, and it is not to be doubted, but that if the matter  
come to passe as I woulde haue it (as my trust is  
that it will) we shall in short space see a reuenging of  
that our olde iniurie.

Beelze. Nowhan I beholde you moſte redoubted  
prince, and ponder your wordes ſeuerally with my-  
ſelfe: ye woulde not beleue howe muche I am com-  
forted, me thinketh that I am nowe ſo ſatiſfied, and  
that I fele my ſelfe ſo preſently eaſed, as though I  
my ſelfe had powred out all the boylunge poiſon of  
my ſtomacke agaynſte God. There was neuer crea-  
ture that had a more wittie, a more noble, or a more  
worthye deuſe, if the matter myght take lyke effect,  
as me ſemeth it cannot. For who woulde beleue that  
the chriſtian menne (whiche excell in wiſdome and  
iudgement) could be brought to this poynt to beleue  
that the kingdome of the deuill is the kyngdome of  
God. And that the ſupreme heade of that kingdome,  
being the very greate deuill of hell, ought to be ad-  
ored, and wurthypped for a God in earthe, and his  
membres honored for ſayntes?

Luci. O howe goodly occaſions manye tymes men  
loſe, and howe goodly interpriſes come not to ſuche  
effecte as they were purpoſed for, by the meanes of  
the weake fearefulnes of mennes ſtomakes, in that  
they dare not take the thing in hande, whiche they be  
affrayed they ſhall not atcheue. Such as be of hault  
courage, auaunce their mynde ſtudeing and attemp-  
ting thinges of great aduenture, and ſo with witte,  
indurie, diligence, care and earneſtnes, at the laſt  
they bringe thynges to paſſe, that bee very harde to  
compaſſe. My hope is therefore that euen as God



hath saued the worlde by Christ, so in despite of hym  
I shall destroye the same, & that vnder the pretence &  
colour of the same Christ, by the meanes wherof men  
maye bee the easer deceyued. I wyl styre vp the  
chiefe captaynes of my kyngdome, that they maye so  
by craft and diligence shadow, and couer supersticion  
and ydolatry with a fayre face and beautye of fayned  
holy ceremonies and of good intente (as they call it)  
that menne shall be made so dronken, and so amased  
with thys outward pompe and shewe, that they  
their selues shall not be hable to descerne truely fro  
falschod, when they be drowned in the middes of the  
floude of ydolatrye and supersticion. More ouer I  
haue determined so to extoll, and sette vp the carnall  
man in thys my kingdome, and the lyght of nature,  
and the strength of mannes fre wil, and his workes,  
that I shall bee hable to cast downe Christ out of his  
place, and to bury his great benefit, and so to minish  
the profit of his grace, his righteousness and mercye  
euerlastinge. And furthermore I wyl bring men in-  
to that madnes that they shall thynke themselves  
not onely hable by their owne power and might to  
inioye the prayse of ryghteousnes before God, but  
also that the eleccion and choise of their saluacion  
shall depende wholye vpon themselves. All these  
thinges will I perswade to men vnder a pretence of a  
more perfect ryghteousnes and honestie, and vnder  
a shadowe of a better setting forth the glozve of the  
name of God. And although the principall heades of  
thys kyngdome be full of darkenes, of ignorance,  
of heresie, errour, fraude, and lyes, yet shall they  
shamelesly take vpon them the vsurpacion of author-  
itie to make newe and wicked articles of the fayth,  
wasting

twisting the holy scriptures to their crooked purpose,  
and yet shall they thynke themselves to be in a great  
clearenes of lyght and trueth. For I can easely per-  
suade vnto them that their churche is the churche of  
Christ, although it be nothig elles in dede, but a very  
assembly of Satan. I wyll perswade vnto them that  
they be the disciples of Christe, and the successours  
of Sayncte Peter, when in dede wee be their chiefe  
masters, and they our vicars & supply oure rouines,  
and serue our cures in yea the. Finally when in dede  
we reigne in them, they shall thynke they haue the  
holy gost withyn them, so that although they be in a  
continual errour, yet shall they perswade menne that  
they are inspired with a heauenly spirite, and cannot  
erre. Oh lord what a numbze of mischiefes and ab-  
ominacions shall be committed in thys kyngdome,  
by reason of the wicked and sinnefull decrees, which  
shall be made of gouernours of the same, when they  
shall gloze that they haue power to bynde the con-  
science of manne euen of lyke sorte as though they  
were hayle felowe with God or rather better,  
and all thys vnder the shadowe of religion and holi-  
nes. I wyll cause them to be mooste cruell tyrantes,  
and bochers of Christe and hys chosen membes,  
and that vnder a pretence of a zeale to the house of  
God. They shall attempte to hyde their vncleanes,  
and fylthy behaviour vnder a gaye name of sole  
lyfe, and shall couer their wickednes and abhomin-  
acion with an exceeding wyde cloke of hypocrysie, and  
with a glorious shynnyng tytle of religion and holi-  
nes. But what nedeth so many wordes? The chiefe  
head of thys kyngdome shall be directly quite contra-  
rye to Christe, and the membes of it, shall be open



aduersaries to the chosen of God. But one thyng my  
frendes ye must diligently considre, that this thing of  
necessitie bee alwayes kepte secreete, elles yf menne  
shoulde perceyue by any meanes thys our counsell,  
all our labors should be lost, and all oure enterpryse  
frustrate. And out ye not deare brethzen but that yf the  
thyng come to passe, that I intende, there shall be  
suche horrible and wycked viciousnes in thys kyng-  
dome, that the chiefe captaynes themselves could  
not abyde them if they knewe them to be so abhomi-  
nable as they shall be. Wherefore it is necessary that  
the greater the wyckednes shalbee the more crafti-  
lier and coninglye they bee anourned and set furthe  
with some pleasaunt beautyfull face of religion and  
a gaye paynted bayle of holynes.

**Belze** All these thinges we allowe ryght well, and  
be also redy to obey your counsell, and to bestowe all  
the powers of our wytte and myght to set forwarde  
thys noble enterpryse, howbeit first and foremost we  
thynke it very expedient that ye disclose playnly un-  
to vs all your intent and purpose, that we maye di-  
rect al oure labours and study to that ende, and so to  
brynge this noble enterpryse aboute euen as we wil  
with the common consent of vs all.

**Luci.** Euen as vpon Christe dependeth the whole  
saluacion of all mankynde, so is it necessary for vs to  
deuise a supreme head vpon whom maye depend the  
whole condempnacion of all mankynde. And as the  
sonne of God for the saluacion of the worlde dyd as-  
base hymselfe from the hyghe state of hys diuinitie,  
and endued hymselfe with mannes nature: of a lyke  
sorte is it nedefull for the destruccions of the worlde  
that there be some man which shal auance hymselfe  
aboue

aboue Christ and aboue God hymselfe, that menne  
beyng blinded by stynkyng and filthye supersticion  
maye feare, honour, and obey a mortall manne moze  
then the very lyuyng lord. And moze ouer it is ne-  
cessary that thys man be so furnished with all wic-  
kednes and iniquitie that I maye worthelye saye of  
hym: thys is my well beloued sonne, in whome is my  
onely delyte, heare him: Euen as the heauenly father  
longe agone dyd testifie of hys sonne Christ.

Beelze. We thinketh that I heare the liuely image  
of Antichriste hymselfe handsomly and properly de-  
scribed of you.

Luci. It is euen so in dede as thou sayest.

Beelze. But who is (I praye you) so shamelesse to  
receyue so wicked a dignitie?

Luci. Receyue it quod he: Thys dignitie shall be  
honoured and sette forth with so muche ryches, so  
much pleasure, and so much habundaunce of thinges,  
so greatly befrended with noble menne, so decked  
with honour and greate welthe of thys present lyfe,  
that all the prynces of the earthe shalbe desirous to  
atteyne therunto. And as for thabominacions of  
thys hyghe seate, they shall so be couered with a gay  
glorious outwarde shewe of holines, that they the-  
selues, whiche shall sitte in the same, shall not be ha-  
ble to knowe their owne wickednes. No, (a manne  
woulde scasely beleue it) they shal thinke themselues  
very gods in earth. As farre as my wit wil serue me,  
I thynke the Bishoppe of Rome the mooste mete in-  
strument to bringe about the thyng that we intend.  
Because that Rome is the heade cite of the worlde,  
it shalbe no hard thyng to persuaade menne that the  
bishop therof is the head of all christian menne, and  
b.iii. the



the church of Rome to be mother of all other churches. And agayne this insatiabie ambition of the Romans, their craft, their malice and gyle, wherewith they be naturally infected, shal not be the only thyng that shal helpe forwarde our purpose: but also the fauoure and grace that they obtayne at the Emperours handes of Rome. Furthermore it is not vnknewen vnto you that by reason of the manyfolde heresies which we haue sowne, in Affrike, and in the east partes of the worlde, what a numbze of bishops haue fled to Rome for succoure of the Emperoure. The byshop of Rome (as a manne that gapeth for this honour of the highest place) intertaineth al men very frendly, declaryng tokens of kyndnes and loue towardes euery body, in so much that some of a meke simplicitie, and other some by craft and fraude will be so desirous of the election and apointment of this highe dignitie, that they wyll bee very glade to gyue theyr voyce to the byshop of Rome. Who on the other parte is so replenished with deceyt and suttelty, & with such a botomles desier to be a Prince, that it shal be easy for him with the helpe and fauour of our spirite to attayne to this moste highe dignitie, namely because as ye know they be sufficiently furnished al ready with learning, and also holpen by the power and working of our spirit. The churches of the East part of the world were easly infected with the heresies, that were sowne abroad, & because theyr heresies be now knowne to all menne, they can not infect the other churches of Christe, whiche bee more syncerely instructed. But as for this church of Rome it muste be infected by litle & litle not in the outward shewe, but in the inwarde bowelles, and that so extremely vntill

vntyll it cannot be made more wicked (thoutwarde  
 pompe and shewe and a certayne forme of the church  
 of Christ beyng preserved) that by the meanes ther-  
 of, it maye brynge all other churches more easily into  
 errour, and may be the onely chiefe bredyng mother  
 of errour and wickednes, lyke as it shalbe taken for  
 the mother of all other churches. Thus haue I de-  
 clared vnto you (deare brethern and frendes) all my  
 whole inuencion and imaginacion: and I haue ope-  
 ned also and set before your eyes the ende wherunto  
 we must direct all oure labours and study. It resteth  
 now i you that euery one apply his whole mind to þe  
 vttermost of hys power for the performaunce of so  
 noble an enterpryse, and leaue nothyng vndone, that  
 shall seme expedient for the brynginge about therof.  
 Doubte ye not but the tyme is at hande, when wee  
 maye reuenge our olde iniury agaynst God. And for  
 asmuch as he would not suffre vs beig most worthy  
 creatures, to bee felowes with hym in heauen: wee  
 wyll brynge to passe by our industrie, that the vilest  
 manne and mozte cast awaye in the worlde shalbe a-  
 boue hym in earthe. And now that euery one of you  
 in hys degre maye the more cherefully applye hym-  
 selfe about thys busines, I promise you, ye nede not  
 doubt, but you maye bee well assured that we shall  
 in shorte space brynge the thynge to passe that we de-  
 sler. For in thys poynte wee haue God hymselfe fa-  
 uourable vnto vs, whoe in sondrye places of scrip-  
 ture prophecied that there should an Antichrist come,  
 and now is the tyme expired, wherein that wycked  
 head of Christendome ought to come into the world.  
 Then yf God wyll not be made a lyar it is necessary,  
 that at the last he come and be disclosed to the whole  
 worlde

Esay. xliii.  
 Luc. x.  
 Apoca. xii.

Mat. xxiii.



ii. Thesa. ii.

Mat. xxiii.

worlde. For with this whyppe God will scourge  
and punishe the false christians. Who because they  
would not beleue the trueth, God of his rightfull  
iudgement will that they shall beleue iyes, and bee  
worthely deceyued as Paule hath wyrtten. There  
were neuer, nor neuer shalbe more shynynge cerimo-  
nies neither more beawtifull, wherby to allure men  
vnder a coloure of holines, then those shalbe, whiche  
Antichriste and his membes shall deuise to be vsed  
amongest menne. And know ye more ouer, for a con-  
firmacion of their doctryne and liuyng, that they  
maye be more easly deceyued, God will suffer many  
wonders, many signes and miracles to be shewed by  
vs, by reason of whom euen the very chosen shall be  
seduced if it were possible, as Christe hym selfe hath  
prophecied, I am sure ye haue in remembraunce how  
that in the beginning of the churche of Christ when  
it was moste pure, & a longe season after, there were  
chosen aswel in Rome for to be Bishoppes such men  
as were moste godly, best learned in Goddes holye  
scriptures, and as most diligently and faithfullly la-  
boured to auance goddes true word and his glozy,  
but afterwarde when good discipline began to de-  
caye, and we had powred ambicion, darnel, and dis-  
cencion into the worlde, then were chosen to be By-  
shoppes by their owne procuremente, not suche as  
were most godly, but suche as were most worldely,  
most ambitious and craftie, seking more their owne  
glozy and lucre then the auancement of goddes glo-  
rye, and the exercise of their office, rather plucking  
from the shepe their mylke, than fedyng them with  
good pastures. So that the name of a Byshop now,  
is no more the name of a verye paynfull office as it  
was

was in tymes past, but of a great pompe & dignitie.  
Furthermore they haue ordeyned accordinge to the  
example of the olde Patriarches Abraham, Isaac, &  
Jacob thre newe Patriarches one of Antioche in As  
sia, another of Alexandria in Affrik, and the thyrd of  
Europe in Rome. Of a like sorte ye know that a long  
ceason all Christian men in the church of Christ haue  
ben taken, for spiritual, sanctified, & religious mē, as  
they bee called in the scripture, and as they are in  
dede, for as muche as they be halowed in baptisme, &  
dedicated to god to be his chldren, and to bee led by  
his spirite. But the infidels, whiche bee not of the  
church of Christ as mē vtterly without Christ be ac  
counted (as they be i dede) prophane, hethē, & vngodly.  
But now of late dayes only a sort of cloysterers dis  
guysed men in apparel, and lpyng from other men  
begin to bee taken for spirituall, religyous and holy  
menne, though they bee neuer so vicious. All other  
Christian menne be they neuer so godly, and replenis  
shed with the heavenly spirite, yet bee they iudged  
prophane, and vnworthy to touche theyr holy gar  
mentes with theyr lytle fynger. Thys wonderfull  
dignitie and magnificence shall set out the royaltie  
and glozve of our e Monarchie and sole kyngdome  
not a lytell. Beleue me deare bretheren wee haue a  
mete tyme, and oportunitie for our triumph, for our  
glozy and victozy. God for thauancement, and for  
thyncrease, and establisshment of hys churche gaue to  
it the holye scripture for a rule to lyue by for euer:  
likewise for the increase, the enlargynge, and confir  
mation of our churche we will giue vnto it oure de  
crees and Cannons, which although they bee for the  
moste parte prophane and wicked, yet shall they ne

C. i.

nerthelesse



nevertheless not only seeme good and holy, but also they  
shalbe take for the veray squire and rule, wherbi the  
holy scripture shalbee tryed. Furthermoze because  
God knewe right well that his holy word is a thing  
most necessary aboue all other: he commaunded his  
Apostles that they shoulde preache throughe out the  
worlde the voyce of the gospell, which in dede is the  
trewe chief office of them, whiche wil be taken for the  
trewe ministers of Christe. For although baptisme  
(as all men knowe) be a ceremonye ordeined of God  
both holy and necessary, yet was the Apostle Paule  
so diligent, and busied with preaching the worde of  
god, that he christened very few with his owne han-  
des but left that office to other ministers. But now  
shall the tyme come, yea and it is at hand, wherin the  
chiefe headdes of this our kingdome shall not onely  
challenge to be the successors of the apostles, but also of  
Christ him selfe: they shalbe stricken with such a mad-  
nes that they shall thinke it a vile shamefull thyng  
for them to preache the gospell, & therefore shall they  
substitute vnder them symple Sir Johns, who for  
the fashions sake shal pretende and doe the outward  
ceremonye of preachinge, but the doctrine wherewith  
they shall instructe the people shalbe handeled and in-  
spected after theyr owne fashion. And as for the by-  
shops they shalbee giue al together to esteeme thinges  
of the world and of the fleshe. And yet to thende that  
they may appere before menne as though they were  
bishops, in dede, at certayne tymes of the yere they  
shall set forth sundry ceremonies with a great shew  
to the people, which shalbe no lesse colde, dumme and  
folishe than wicked and superstitious, whiche shalbe  
framed, and wrought in our workehouse of hel. But  
brefely

briefely to comprehendē an endles sea of matters in  
fewe wordes, know ye my brotherne, that this king-  
dome of ours shalbe so pestilent & abhominable, that  
it shall not only infecte & hurte the church of god, the  
holy ceremonies & constitucionz, trew worshippinge  
of god & the sacred scripture it selfe: but it shall also  
destroy & ouerthrow other lyberall artes & sciences.  
Belzee. When I consider howe shorte the lyfe of  
man is it semeth to me a thinge vnpossible, that one  
byshop of Rome, in so shorte a space shoulde bring to  
passe so many mischefes.

Luci. Brother me thinketh that ye be very dull. For  
this name of Antichrist is not the proper name of a-  
ny one man, but is a common name to many, for not-  
withstanding that it is a fyr name for all them, that  
be contrary and enemies to Christ, yet chieflly and a-  
boue all other it agreeth to those byshops of Rome  
which vsurpe tyrannie lordship and dominion aboue  
all other byshops. Nowe all the difficultie and hard-  
nes of this busines standeth in the beginninge ther-  
of, that is to saye, in gyuinge a beginninge to a mat-  
ter of so greate importaunce, and that same byshope  
of Rome may be founde, who dareth giue the fyrste  
aduenture to be called the head of al other byshops.  
If we may once obtē this at one of theyr handes,  
the reste wil easily folo we willingly, & daily wil they  
finde out newe wayes for the stablshment of theyr  
dominion. Therefore let vs al goe nowe out of hand &  
euery man prepare him selfe to doe hys indeuour ac-  
cording to his calling, & I as your chief capitaine wil  
firste proue. & formolte attempt to perswad this gods-  
ly imaginacion of mine to Boniface the byhope of  
Rome, and I doubt not but that I shall obtē pre-  
sent



sent fauour of his carnall wisedome.

**Boniface the thyrd.**

**Doctor Sapience Secretary to  
The Emperour.**

O immortall God howe sweete and pleasaunte a thing is the glory of the world, trewly it is moze to be esteemed, then all worldlye treasures or pleasure. I am the Patriarch of Rome, and haue vnder my tuition and gouernaunce an infinite number of people: Who being pressed with any kind of affliction, straight they come runnyng to me as thike as hoppers, they al honour me, they haue theyr eyes set vpon me, I haue money at will, & I may haue all kindes of pleasures at my commaundement. Yf I coulde bring it to passe to obtaine at the handes of Phocas the Emperour the dominion, and principality ouer al other byshopes of the world: I woulde thinke my selfe to haue attayned even the berye highest state of felicitie, and happye lyfe, that myght be. Yf then I coulde not by wisedome, and industrie brynge to passe, that men shoulde worshippe me as a god in earthe: I might worthely be accounted a fole, and muche vnworthy of so great a felicitie, but what shall I doe? I can by no meanes disclose this my fantasie to any manne, but I shall forthewith disclose this mine arrogancie, and he shall iudge me a manne full of ambycion. But I see master Sapient the Emperours secretarie myne olde frende. Truly I could not haue founde a moze fit instrument for my purpose: if he will be so good to me as to open this thinge to the Emperours Maiestie, not as a thinge diuised and found out of me, but rather of his owne head, as though I durst not so hardy

dye

By of my head will or mynd so great a matter.

sapi. God saue your highenes most Reuered father.

Boni. Ye be very hartely welcome. What newes?

sapi. Nothing but y<sup>e</sup> al is nought. Sūdry letters ther be brought to the Emperours Maiesty, the contentes of the which dothe declare that there is such a number of faccions, sectes, contencions, and of diuerse kindes of heresies in the church of Chzist, that without goddes present helpe, the churche will shortly be vtterly vndone.

Boni. Your wordes gyue me both occasion, and incorage-  
ment to disclose vnto you, as to my most faith-  
full and deare frende, my whole mynde and intent.  
I wyll therfore open vnto you the secrete and hyd  
purposes of my mynde. But because the matter is of  
great waight, fyrst I will desier you to kepe counsel.

sapi. Sir that is a thinge, that belongeth to myne  
office, to kepe secretes, for asmuche as I am secreta-  
ry to the Emperours Maiestie a dignitie whereun-  
to I shoulde neuer haue attayned, if I had not sum-  
what learned what thinge it is amongst men, pry-  
uily or openly to whist or to talke. Wherfore bee not  
afraied, say what ye will, and thinke with your selfe  
that ye may safely say your mind to me, for assuraūce  
wherof I promes you faithfully that I will open it  
to no man, neither speake anye thinge therof to anye  
man lyuing, but as you shalbe contented.

Boni. For one epistle, and one message that the empe-  
ror hath receaued of faccions, and heresies, which a-  
bound in Asia and Affrike I haue receaued a thou-  
sand letters, and messages: for all good men resort to  
me as to theyr only refuge and succor, and I comfort  
them in their afflictions and calamities. Therbe ma-

C.iii.

ny

The commu-  
cation betw<sup>e</sup>  
Boniface Bi-  
shop of Rome  
and Doctour  
Sapience the  
Emperours  
Secretarpe.



ny also not all of the beste sorte, which resorte to my  
gard and tuicion, some leste they should woorthely be  
punished of theyr superiours for their offenses: and o-  
ther, that vnder the shadowe of my fauour they may  
be promoted to some dignitie. And I of very huma-  
nitie and gentlenes can not but intertaine them very  
frendely and shewe al tokens of kindnes vnto them,  
be they good or be they euill that come to me for re-  
fuge. It is not ambition that moueth me to thys  
thyng, neyther gooe I about by thys meanes to  
increase my pryuate commoditie, or to auance the  
worthynes of my dignitie, (as God he knowethe):  
but christian charitie, and a true zeale to Goddes ho-  
nour moueth me to doe thys my deuotie: vnfortunate  
had the Christian menne been, whiche dwell in those  
countreies had not I holpen them with my labour  
and diligence. Ther is none amongst the, who desi-  
reth not th increase and setting forth of myne ho-  
nour, that my authoritie and helpe maye be a staye  
vnto them in suche thynges as belonge to their pro-  
fite. But I of a certayne naturall inclinacion (I can  
not tell howe) bothe naturallie and wyllynglye ab-  
horre all pompe and dignitie. Yet to say as I thinke,  
and as my consciēce geueth me to speake the trueth,  
I feare me muche lest all churches, not onely they of  
whome I spake even nowe, but our churches also in  
shorte space wyll be vndone onles they be gouerned  
of some vniuersall supzeme head. Ye knowe ryght  
well, that where is no order, there of necessitie must  
be confusion, neither can there be any certayne order  
except there be a head, wherunto all thynges muste  
be applied as to the chiefe state of governaunce. And  
to put you out of doubt, christen menne be not nowe  
of

of that simplicitie, and vertuous behauiour as they  
were in the begynnyng of the primate church,  
wherfore now it is necessari for them to haue a head  
whiche may punish the euill, and rewarde the good.  
Ye se with your eyes howe many sectes and heresies  
be now in the church of Christ, and there is smale  
lyklyhode of amende ment, but that it shal bee daylye  
worse and worse yf some remedy be not founde be-  
tymes, shortly shall ensue amongst menne suche a  
licentious and vnbrydled libertie that euery manne  
wyl attempt to inuent a newe kynde of religion of  
his owne braine, so that enery man shal beleue what  
hym listeth, & shal also refuse whatsoeuer shall seme  
contrary to his priuate commoditie. Wherfore it is  
very necessary that there bee some supreme head to  
reduce all menne to an vnitie in religion, wherby all  
waues of opinions may of a Christian sorte bee cal-  
med and ceased. Experience whiche deceyueth no  
manne but is the chiefe maystres in consultacion,  
teacheth thys thyng so evidently that it cannot bee  
denied. Now that we haue by sage coniecture espied  
it to be necessary to haue one head in the church and  
christian common welth: I iudge that christen men  
wyl more wyllynglye and readily admit and receyue  
me for their head and gouernour than anye other  
manne, whiche thing may be compassed bothe more  
safely and better without busines, yf the Emperour  
woulde helpe it forward (being so profitable a thing  
as it is) with his royall authoritie, agaynst whose  
wyl and pleasure as I dare attempte nothyng: so  
woulde I not doubt but that yf he woulde doe thys  
thyng hymselfe, it were no smale meanes to encrease  
his glory, and establishe the continuance of his me-  
moire



ny also: not all of the beste sorte, which resorte to my  
gard and tuicion, some lesse they should worthely be  
punished of theyr superiours for their offenses: and o-  
ther, that vnder the shadowe of my fauour they may  
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nour moueth me to doe thys my deuotie: vnfortunate  
had the Christian menne been, whiche dwell in those  
countreyes had not I holpen them with my labour  
and diligence. Ther is none amongst the, who desi-  
reth not thyncrease and settingt forth of myne ho-  
nour, that my authoritie and helpe maye be a staye  
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fite. But I of a certayne naturall inclinacion ( I can  
not tell howe ) bothe naturallye and wyllinglye ab-  
horre all pompe and dignitie. Yet to say as I thinke,  
and as my consciēce geueth me to speake the trueth,  
I feare me muche lest all churches, not onely they of  
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shorte space wyll be vndone onles they be gouerned  
of some vniuersall supzeme head. Ye knowe ryght  
well, that where is no order, there of necessitie must  
be confusion, neither can there be any certayne order  
except there be a head, wherunto all thynges muste  
be applied as to the chiefe state of governaunce. And  
to put you out of doubt, chyisten menne be not nowe  
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of that simplicitie, and vertuous behaviour as they  
were in the begynnyng of the primate church,  
wherefore now it is necessary for them to have a head  
whiche may punish the euill, and rewarde the good.  
Ye see with your eyes howe many sectes and heresies  
be now in the church of Christ, and there is small  
lyklyhode of amende ment, but that it shal bee daylye  
worse and worse yf some remedy be not founde be-  
tymes, shortly shal ensue amongst menne suche a  
licentious and vnbrydled libertie that euery manne  
wyl attempt to inuent a newe kynde of religion of  
his owne brayne, so that euery man shal beleue what  
hym listeth, & shal also refuse whatsoeuer shal seme  
contrary to his priuate commoditie. Wherefore it is  
very necessary that there bee some supreme head to  
reduce all menne to an vnitie in religion, whereby all  
waues of opinions may of a Christian sorte bee cal-  
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manne but is the chiefe maystres in consultation,  
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manne, whiche thing may be compassed bothe more  
safely and better without busines, yf the Emperour  
woulde helpe it forward (being so profitable a thing  
as it is) with his royall authoritie, agaynst whose  
wyl and pleasure as I dare attempte nothyng: so  
woulde I not doubt but that yf he woulde doe thys  
thyng hymselfe, it were no small meanes to encrease  
his glory, and establishe the continuance of his me-  
moire



more for ever, and also for thynlarging of his imperiall Dominion & dignitie. For yf I should acknowledge perpetuall obedience, reuerence, and fidelitie to hym (as I am bounde and as my mynde is to doe) he might well thynke all the Dominion and authoritie, whiche I shoulde haue, to pertayne also to hym. Nowe yf you thinke it good to common with y<sup>e</sup> Emperours maiestie in thys matter when ye shall see tyme and place conuenient, (because I knowe that he louethe you singularlye well, and that he settethe muche by your counsell, and I knowe how good ye be to persuaade a matter, and also I am well assured that ye bee my very frende) I doubt not but ye shall easily bryng to passe this my desire. And for my parte, bysides that I shoulde be alwayes bound vnto you, I woulde declare vnto you in dede after no slender and meane sorte howe earnestly I loue you for that I had receyued so great a benefit at youre handes. And I wyll be playne with you, my desire is, that ye wyll open all these thinges to the Emperours maiestie as though they were firste deuised by you, and as though I had neuer talked nor spoken of them. For me thynketh it a wisdom: when I haue obtayned my sute to shewe my selfe as though it were agaynst my wyll, that I myght say amongst all men that I toke not thys dignitie wyllynglye, but by force and compulsion.

Sapi. I perceyue all that your highnes hath in this plentifull oracion declared, and I promise you my fayth, and true diligence for the compassing of thys matter, and that my good heart, and minde shall appere to your highnes to be boide of al dissimulation. And as soone as I shall perceyue what aunswere  
Cesars

Cesars maiestie wyll make, I shall declare his wyll and pleasure to your mosse noble lordshyp, and because I am now euen cloyed with to many busineses and am also sure that there be a great numbze loo kynges for me at the court, I wyll take my leaue of your highnes oueles ye wyll commaunde me any o- ther seruice.

Boni. Nothyng but that ye wyll humbly commed me to Cesars maiestie.

sapi. I wyll with al my heart. I thought the tyme of my tariaunce with this manne to be a whole yere long: he displeased me so with suche a rolling rhetorical banitte of wordes. Oh Lorde god that there canne be so muche ambition and desire of honoz hid in the brest of a man, and that of a chriistian man, yea and of a byshoppe whiche will be accounted most ho- ly. Yt is no meruayle that he intertayned so frendely all straungers that came to Rome, and often tymes praysed them earnestly to the Emperoure, for it ap- peareth by the matter it selfe that it was for none o- ther purpose, but to obtayne the fauoure of his neigh- bours, and straungers for the better attayninge to this dignitie, whiche he hunteth for. And to cloke his hypocrisie with a gaye outwarde shewe, he sayeth it is very necessary for the church to haue one supreme vniuersal head of the churche in earthe, as though Christe were not the true head of his churche, or els dyd not regarde thynges in earthe, but satte in hea- uen idle and slepinge. He affirmithe also that yf this head be not stablyshed in the churche of Christe, it wyl shortly decay and be vndone: but I am of a con- trarye iudgemente: yf Cesars maiestie fulfyll hys ambitious desire the churche of Christ wyl not only

D.i.

Decaye



Decaye, but it wyll bitterly fall downe, as thoughe it  
were plucked vp by the rootes. As thoughe the By-  
shoppes which be already were not sufficient for the  
churches that they haue. And yf there chaunce anye  
contencion to aryse amongst them they haue coun-  
sels, by whome to make an ende of their stryfe and  
controuerxies. What knowelage canne thys false  
wretche haue of the churches in Affryke? Or of the  
churches in Asia, where he was neuer in al the dayes  
of hys lyfe: but what talke I of Affrike & Asia: How  
came he gouerne those churches that bee in Europe  
whose language for the most parte he vnderstandeth  
not: By the reason of the great distaunce of places, &  
varietie of the nacions and menne: Who euer sawe  
one Crane gyde all other Cranes in the worlde:  
Who euer sawe a shepard, whiche coulde alone feede  
all the shepe in the yearth: He were worthy prayse  
yf he coulde gouerne hys owne well though he were  
not a whit troubled with caring for the rest. Who  
knoweth whether Wolfes maye bee founde in hys  
owne flocke, and whether he maye worthylly be iud-  
ged the chiefe Wolfe of all: It is not many yere s a-  
gone sence John Byshop of Constantinople attempt-  
ed the same interpryse that he might bee made the  
vniuersall Byshop, whome the whole church dyd  
wythstande, and namelye Gregory the fyrste thys  
mans predecessour, who in hys letters amongst o-  
ther thynges wrote vnto hym. That the name of a  
vniuersall Byshop was a folishe, wicked, proude, and  
a church robbing name, and yf he shoulde goe about  
to vsurpe that name, he shoulde doe nothyng elles  
but make hymselfe lyke to Lucifer, and be a fore mes-  
senger of Antichriste, in takinge awaye the glory and  
dignitie from other bishops hys brethren, and so to  
trouble

trouble the concord, and vnitie of the faythfull, and  
vndoe the church of Christ. Nowe yf thys ambitious  
felow may by craft and sutteltie obtayne that thing,  
which his predecessours with the common prayse &  
consent of all menne dyd most iustly condempne in o-  
ther, suerly it shall not be done without great offence  
of all good menne. Thys I dare be bolde to say, that  
neither Affryke, neither Grecia, neither the rest of  
the churches of the East wyll euer consent hereunto,  
but wyll rather resist and rebeil amongst themsel-  
ues: and so shall the seameles cote of Christ be torne  
in many partes. This shall be the fyrst fruite which shall  
spryng of thys dyuelike state & authoritie. Further-  
more the churches either wyl not consent thereunto,  
or elles yf they doe consent it shall be by compulsion,  
because they maye easily perceyue howe muche mis-  
chiefe thys meruelous tyranny shall brynge with it.  
Yf all the tyrantes whiche euer haue bene were ioy-  
ned together, they al neuer dyd so much mischief to  
the world as this one is like to doe. I see plainly that  
thys matter is a thynge most pernicious and hurtful,  
wherof I ought neyther to thynke, nor speake but  
onely to put away so great a myschiefe from christi-  
an mens neckes. Yet because I haue made promyse,  
I wyll see what the Emperour wyll saye to it, and  
will talke earnestly with hym of the matter, foras-  
much as this ambiciouse bragger did declare plain-  
ly that he woulde see me well rewarded if I woulde  
doe that lay in me to helpe the matter forwarde. Be-  
sides this, because he is named to be our countremā  
one of the Romans I am bounde to promote hys  
sute and purpose. And who knoweth what he wyll  
doe shortly after for my sake if he obteyne this dig-  
nitie by my procurement. Truly it is not lyke that



he wil forget so great a benefit receaued at my hand. And bee it that there arise contencion amongst the byshoppes, what is that to me? Naye the more they stryue amongst themselves, the more shal they nede the emperors helpe with whome I am chief, and so my vantage shalbe the fatter. Therfore will I bring this thinge about, and that with as much celeritie and speede as is possible.

*Bonifacius alone*  
Bon. Sence I disclosed my mynde to Doctor Sapiens, I haue been wonderfully troubled. And who knoweth whether he will (in so weighty a matter as this is) kepe counsell or not accordinge to hys promes. He hath a number of frendes whome he wil put in trust with some of my matters. And what if he open somewhat of my wyl in declaring the matter to the Emperour, but be it that he doe none of all these thinges: yet can it not be but that Cesars maiesty of him self (as he is replenished with wisdom, & exceedingly practised in suche kynde of feactes) shal by and by suspecte that this arrowe came out of my quiver, and that the matter was altogether of my diuisinge, and so my craft shalbe espied, and I put to shame. Furthermore if it so chaunce that he obteyne not my sute at the Emperours hand, what haue I then els done but disclosed vnto hym my bottomles ambition to no purpose. But if he obteyne (as I pray god he maye) all men will say with one accorde that I haue brought it to passe with much labor & industry, and so shal the thing be lefte in wrytinge to the posteritie. And so shal I be both to menne of this present age, and to the which shalbe in time to come a lawghing stocke, and a iestyng stole. All men good and

and euell will haue theyr eyes set vpon me, and (as it were) poynt me out with theyr finger. I shalbe hāpered in a thousand snares. And one thinge is greatest mischief of all, I alone shalbe the first beginner, and the chiefe original of all thabominations, which my successors shall cōmytte in al the whole world by the reason of thys tyranny. But why trouble I my selfe any longer with a rablement of reasons? The die is caste happe what happe will: and I canne not sauinge myne honour drawe backe agayne from my purpose: therefore me thinketh it moze mete to stand to the matter stoutly taryng to see the ende. If the matter come to passe as I would haue it (as I trust it will) I will fynde a meanes quickly how I maye fynde frendes plentie. The matter of it selfe telleth, & daylye experience sheweth, that all men hunte for the friendshippe of them who excell in riches, and authoritie, all thoughte they be very tyrannes. And to thintente that men shall the moze imbrace and magnifye me, thinkinge me to be a Christ in earth, I will cause it by letters to be blowen abrode ouer al the worlde, that this high dignitie chaunced to me bothe not lokinge for it, and all together vntoilling to receaue it, and that I woulde haue receaued it in no wyse, had not the zeale that I haue to the house of god compelled me, that is to saye to prouyde a remedy for heresies, factiōs, and an infinit number of other mischieses, by the whiche the churche of Christ is oppressed. But Master Sapience is come and hys iourney is towarde me with spede, he semeth very mery, no dout he bringeth me some good newes.

*sapi.* Your moste reuerent hyghenes should not maruayle that I haue differred and prolonged the

D.iii.

tyme

15



time for answer to the matter, which I know to be to  
vs bothe very pleasant, longer then either of vs bothe  
did suppose. Truly the cause why I dyd so was no  
negligence, but rather that I might bringe the thing  
to passe more diligentlve and more effectuouslve. I  
choose my time and place when I might best for our  
profyt declare thys matter to the Emperoz. Yester  
night after supper me thought hys Maiestie was  
merier then he was wont to be, he walked forth into  
a gardene, and being there alone he called me to him  
a parte. There he beganne to declare vnto me hys  
power, hys ryches, and to extolle and magnifie the  
greatnes of his Empier & dignitie, and further he o-  
pened vnto me certayne secret counseilles, wherby he  
thought to increase his ryches, & to cause hys whole  
dignitie roiall to be the more esteemed. And I percea-  
uinge this thinge to make sumwhat for our purpose  
did not only confirme and approue hys intente, but  
also added this thyng more ouer: that he now had  
such occasion and oportunitie gyuen hym to increase  
his honour as neuer other Emperoz had before him,  
so that he would speake but one worde. Nowe be-  
cause these wordes pleased him wonderfully: he de-  
siered me earnestly to declare vnto hym how, and by  
what meanes thys thyng might be brought to passe.  
Then sayed I: yf your imperiall Maiestie would at-  
tempte to subdewe the dominions of other princes  
ye maye not thinke that it would be brought to passe  
withouth muche bludshed, without greate daunger  
and difficultie. But ye haue now an occasion offered  
vnto you of god, whiche if it will please you to take  
when it is offered, ye shal not onely without difficul-  
tie, but also with muche ease and fauour of al partes  
subdwe

subdew all Christian regions. So that those people,  
whiche be furthest of shall come and submitte them-  
selues to youre Maieskie gladly and willingly. And he  
I perceaued þ he gaue very good hede to my talke,  
whyles I shoulde open thys hyd mystery, fyrste I  
declared vnto him howe the church of Christe was  
shaken and tossed with sundry miseries and calami-  
ties, and for none other cause but that it lacked one  
supreme spiritual, and vniuersall heade in earthe,  
whereunto all menne that were afflicted with anye  
kynde of mysery myght resorte as to a common re-  
fuge, and that all menne bothe knewe and desired  
this thinge. I declared also howe thys heade for the  
opiniōs sake of religion, (whereunto al men be natu-  
rally inclined,) shoulde easely bee receaued of all the  
whole worlde. And more ouer by reason of the thun-  
der boltes of excommunication it shoulde be terrible to  
all nations, so that in shorte space it shoulde inioye a  
fyrme & a perfecte Dominion. Besides this I shew-  
ed him that if one of the Emperors subiectes shoulde  
be chosen to be this supreme heade, whiche shoulde  
hang all together vpon the Emperors will and plea-  
sure, he shoulde bee a very mete instrument easly to  
compasse the Dominion of the whole world. And thus  
I came nerer by litle and lytle to the communicacion  
of your moste reuerend hyghnes. I dyd put hym in  
remembraunce how much you fauoured hys Maies-  
tie, and howe mete a maime aboue all other ye seemed  
for this purpose, and agayne for the greate estimaci-  
on in that ye were byshoppe of Rome, in the whiche  
roume ye dyd nowe seruice with hyghe prayse and  
commendacion, and also howe muche this thing was  
desired of very many menne, which shoulde increase  
the



the renowne of the Emperours Maiestie with a great  
reioysinge of all nations. This thinge also I added:  
Onles his Maiestie woulde declare and establishe  
this heade by his authoritie, it would shortly come  
to passe, that some other woulde attempt the same  
thinge, and bring it to passe he not knowinge therof,  
yea though he he did gaynesaye it, who (to hys Ma-  
iesties greate shame and rebuke) woulde chose some  
other whiche was no subiecte to his highnes, but (so  
it might chaunce) his aduersary and foe, that either  
woulde spoyle vtterly, or at the leste muche bere the  
borders of the Romaine Empier. In cōclusion these  
and suche lyke reasons preuailed so much with him,  
that being perswaded he interrupted me of my tale,  
and spake to me before I had made an ende of shew-  
ing my mynde, prayinge and besechynge me that I  
would goe busely about this matter, & that I should  
come straight way to your hyghnes in his name & so  
in hys name pray you very earnestly & ye would not  
refuse thys condicio thus offered, neither disdaine to  
receaue this burden what so euer it bee. And this is  
trewe also I maye tell your highnes in counsell: The  
Emperour charged me priuily that I shoulde not  
tell you that he desired thys thinge so muche for the  
pruate comoditie, whiche myght thereby to hym  
inseme, but for the glory of god, and the profit of the  
churche. Thus your hyghnes hath the begynnyng,  
the myddest, and the end of my message.

Boni. My dere frende Sir Sapience, not with-  
standinge that the laste daye I commoned with you  
somewhat houerly of thys matter, yet after that I  
hadde wayed it more substancially with my selfe, I  
perceaued it to bee a dangerous enterpryse and full of  
perell

perell, & so harde to cōpasse & so paynful, that I haue  
repented me more then a thousand tymes sence that  
euer I begane it. So if I could haue conueniently  
brought it to passe in time, I would haue chāged my  
former purpose, and haue desired you neuer to open  
your mouth, neither to Themperoz, neyther to any  
mā els for this or such lyke matter. Thys I am surer  
is very trew, & there was some heuēly spirite, & mo-  
ued me as sone as I fyrste spake of this matter. But  
nowe am I in suche a perplexitie and doubt that  
I wot not what is best to doe. For thys is once, I  
loue quietnes, and my desire is to passe ouer the rest  
of my lyfe in reste and peace without ruffyllynge and  
busynes. And on the other syde agayne there is a  
certaine zeale to the honour and glozy of God, which  
stirreth and prycketh me, neither would I wyllingly  
resist the callinge of the holy gost. Then commeth in  
the authoritie of the Emperours Maiestie, whose  
becke, worde and request, I take to be as a cōmaun-  
dement vnto me. Therfore tell themperoure howe  
that when I thought nothyng lesse then thys thing,  
ye layd glozye of the name of god to my charge, and  
at the last when ye had proued the thyng to me by  
excedyng strong reasons, that I coulde not refuse  
thys heauenly vocation being freely offred vnto me,  
without a manifest and open iniurie to goddes holy  
naine, and therfore that I was compelled to receyue  
thys offer. But of thys one thyng I desire you to  
moue Cesars maiestie very earnestlye, and ye shall  
moue it to hym in my name, that is, that he wyl con-  
sider agayne and agayne, when I am auanced bp  
into thys hyghe estimacyon, I shal haue many ear-  
nest aduersaries, whose Dartes he hymselfe muste

E.i.

Defende,



defend, and also garde and preserue me in that place  
wherin I am by hym placed. And I thynke it in very  
dede more wisdom, and more standing with bothe  
our honours, that euen at the very first begining nei-  
ther he should graūt, neither I vsurpe this supreme  
authoritie, for the auoyding of all tumult as muche  
as maye be. Yt is ynough at the first that I bee pro-  
claimed chiefe Bishop of all. And afterwarde as time  
and occasion shall serue we wyll goe on further a li-  
tle and litle, vsyng donūion and authoritie mete for  
suche a dignitie. Therefore let hym spedely cause the  
wrytinges to bee penned, and proclamacion to bee  
made throughout the worlde of this hys determinat-  
mynde and pleasure. Shortlye after wyll I come  
humbllye to see hym, and furt hermore I wyll haue  
in remembraunce howe muche I am bounde to you,  
and what I haue promised you when tyme shall re-  
quire.

*sapi.* All thys shall be done, and fare ye well. Eue  
as of late oure Syshoppe disclosed vnto me his won-  
derfull ambition, so now I perceyue that he hathe  
hyd within him such an hipocrisie as neuer was herd  
of. I know that he runeth mad for thys dignitie, and  
yet went he about with his craftie glosynge and de-  
ceytfull wordes to persuaade that he woulde neuer  
receyue it when it was offered. Nowe seying that he  
goeth about to hyd it from me, vnto whome he first  
opened it, howe wyll he hand'e other that knowe  
not hys deceptfulnes. Surely hys shameles ambition  
deserueth no lesse but that I should let all the matter  
quayle, whiche thyng woulde be very acceptable to  
God no doubt. But we haue wadid further herin the  
is easie for vs to stope it, beyng almoste broughte to  
passe

passed already. The emperor himselfe is so amazed and  
drunken with my wordes, that by no meanes possi-  
ble canne I withdrawe hym from his purpose. And  
I my selfe who was the beginner and procurer of  
this matter am forced not to forsake my sute, but  
rather with my iudgement to allowe it, and with my  
diligence to perfourme it. What shall a manne doe?  
Suche chaunce doeth chaunce to them that attempt  
noughtie matters. I wyll get me hence, the soner I  
bryng this thyng to passe the soner shal I be delive-  
red of this noughtie and paynefull fantasies.

**The people of Rome.**

**The church of Rome.**

I vnderstande by common reporte that the byshop  
of Rome is made head of all other churches by Pho-  
cas our Emperor. Yf it bee trewe, he hathe done a  
thyng more folishe, more abhominable, more perre-  
lous & more wicked then ever was either done or herd  
of. The Emperor knoweth not how much ambition,  
gyle, malice, craft, and wickednes reygne in hym,  
he hathe begonne to broode in his bosome suche a  
yonge adder as wyll shortly shot vp to a mightie dra-  
gon, and wyll at lengthe digge out his owne eyes.  
This priestlyng in continuance of tyme, wyll so  
growe in ambition pryde and boasting in vayne glory  
that he will stablishe his seate aboue the dignitie of  
Emperours. There wyll a tyme come, and it is  
now very nye at hand when it shalbe nedefull for the  
Emperor if he will haue his crowne he shall aske it  
& receyue it (if it please him to geue it) at our bishops  
handes, and that he shall come as an humble suer  
to hym and kysse his fete, and he (in the name of God)  
E.ii. a very



a very holy byshoppe shall trede with hys fote vpon  
the Emperours throte. Neyther wyll he bee conten-  
ted with all that ignominy but in conclusion he wyll  
stryke of his heade. Yt maye chaunce peraduenture  
that the Emperours name onelye shall remayne vnto  
hym, but he shall not possesse one foote of land which  
shall properly be called the Emperours. O lamentable  
state of thee O people of Rome. What misery arte  
thou falling into. Thou shalt bee taken from þe great  
Dominion and noble renoume wherin thou diddest  
flouryssh in tymes past, and shortly shalt bee made a  
dryuen drudge, and a vile slaue of a most foule casta-  
way priest. Yf our old auncient noble harted Romas  
shoulde lyue in those dayes, how woulde they abide  
it when they shoulde see, the sacred senat house reple-  
nished with so many wycked theues. But I see the  
churche of Rome comminge out of the church of S.  
John Lateran, she semeth to iourney towardes me,  
and I desiere very muche to common with her. I  
haue met her i good time. God saue you holy churche  
of Rome.

*The churche.* Wylle ye me to bee saued when as I  
within this fewe dayes haue gotten so muche salua-  
cion and helthe by the reason of the wonderfull dyg-  
nitie that I haue receaued at the Emperours handes,  
whereby I am the mother of all other churches that  
the helth of al the whole world dependeth vpon me.  
Therefore must not I receaue thys thyng of other,  
but communicat it to all other.

*The people.* Sence I vnderstode that our byshoppe  
is changed by the Emperour from most reuerend to  
most holy and most blessed, I haue be moze troubled  
then ever was man, and many and sundry doubtles  
doeth

doeth bere my brayne.

*The church.* Shew me your doubtēs and I will resolve you fully in them al, for ye know right wel that there is nothyng to be doubted of myne answer, I am now made blameles so that I can no more erre.

*The people.* Tell me in good faith, had ye neuer a begynninge.

*The church.* Yes without question.

*The people.* And who was youre mother that conceived you.

*The church.* The church of Hierusalem, as it was forspokē by Esay the prophet. The lawe came out of Sion, and euen so the worde of god from Hierusalem. Therfore when Christ ascended into heuen ther remayned none other church in earthe besides the church of Hierusalem, and she by the ministry of thapostles begat all other churches.

*The people.* Yf the church of Hierusalem bee youre mother (as ye confesse her to be) howe then cometh it to passe now that the self same mother is made your doughter.

*The church.* O immortall god what a grosse philosopher ye seme to be: for enen as ye knowe ryght well that the selfsame virgin Mary, is both the mother and doughter of Christ, enen so am I my selfe the doughter of the church of Hierusalem, & also the mother of her and all other churches.

*The people.* O how blynde was I, now I perceaue howe the matter standeth. As the byrgyne Mary is the carnall mother of Christ, & also Christes doughter spirituallly, so be you where as in tymes paste ye were the spirituall doughter of the church of Hierusalem, within this fewe daies ye are made the carnal



mother of the same church and al other. Nowe then  
seinge ye be the carnal mother of al churches, ye shal  
as a carnal body be shortly infected, & so infected that  
in short time ye shall deprave & destroy w<sup>th</sup> youre poi-  
son, rottennes, slander, and corrupciō al other chur-  
ches as well as your selfe. And when they all be once  
poysened as ye bee, ye shall beget them to hell, as in  
tymes paste the church of Hierusalem your spiritu-  
all mother begat you to Chziste. Suerly I maruay-  
led howe ye could otherwise regenerat the church of  
Chziste (whiche is gouerned with the spirite of god  
els is it not the church of Chziste) excepte ye gaue  
vnto it the spirite of the deuill, for there is but onye  
one holye spirite whiche continueth for euer.

*The church.* I will be theyr spiritnall mother, and  
as a spiritual mother I wil comfort them, giue sucke  
to them and nozyshe them to Chziste.

*The people.* May ye will suck al the blude from the,  
and if ye fortune to gyue the suck, it shalbe with the  
mylke of adulation and flattery.

*The church.* I will make all churches riche.

*The people.* Yea wys with iubileis, pardons, and  
blissinges.

*The church.* I will defende suche as flye to me for  
succour when they be opressed with other.

*The people.* Ye will defende them in dede be it right  
or wrong if they bryng money.

*The church.* Yf ther arise any dout in matters of re-  
ligion I will open it by and by.

*The people.* With your owne iudgement agaynst  
the worde of god.

*The church.* I will also punnish them that will not  
obeye

obeye.

*The people.* Ye may with your wicked decrees and decretalles, and that with fyer, wherunto ye will cominitte them whiche confesse the wholsome doctrine of the gospel: whiche is quite contrary to your doctrine. I denie not but ye may be so highe aboue other churches in spirite, in faythe and good workes, and somuche profyt them with youre good example and learnyng, that ye maye worthely be called theyr mother and superiour: but I am afraide lest altogether chaunce cleane contrary, and that there was neuer tyraunt so cruell towarde his subiectes, as you wilbe towarde youre doughters, and therfore not worthy to be accounted or called theyr mother.

*The church.* Be it that I were as wycked as might be possible, yet shall I allwayes be theyr mother, for that one prerogative the Emperour hymselfe hath gyuen vnto me.

*The people.* And what power I pray you hath the emperor to make you mother of other churches if they agre not amongst themselves therunto, but be altogetherly agaynst it: namely the churches of the East, in countreys where the emperor hath no power nor dominion: it muste nedes bee therfore that ye confesse the emperor hath the chiefe authoritie in spirituall matters, and euen as he gaue you this dignity wrongfully, so may he lawfully take the same away agayne from you.

*The church.* Saye that wyll I neuer graunte were it neuer so trewe. Sayne I would haue you perswaded in this poynt, euen as the mother after she hath conceived and brought forth a childe, she is alwayes the childe's mother, be she neuer so euell, neither can  
the



the Emperour cause her leaue of to bee a mother, or make her not to haue had a chylde whome she hathe brought forth, because that thinge is once done and past: of a lyke sorte, after that I am once made the mother of al other churches, & that by The Emperours authorite, The Emperour can not bring it to passe with al the power he hath that I shal not be euermore the mother of them whome I haue begotten.

*The people.* And howe may it bee that you haue begotten al churches, when it is euident that ther was a great number befoze you, yea and that you wer begotten of other?

John. xix.  
Aora.

*The church.* O braynles head. Knowest thou not that when Christ honged vpon the crosse and shewed John to hys mother, and sayed: woman beholde thy sonne, forthwith he was made her trewe and naturall sonne: so that after those wordes once pronounced it shall be alwayes trewe that John was borne of her. Now of the same fashion, when the Emperour sheweth vnto me all churches and saythe: behold thy daughters, by & by am I made theyr trew lawfull & naturall mother. And then began thys sentence fyrst to be trewe that they were all borne of me, and therefore canne it not bee but that I begat them, and am theyr mother for euer.

*The people.* Chryste by thys worde mynded to declare nothyng els to his mother but that she should from thence forward take John in stede of her sone, and that he should take Mary in stede of his mother, as he alwayes dyd, but his mynde was not that she shoulde be Johns naturall mother as she was that conceaued and bare him.

*The church.* Doe nowe ye come in with your tropes and

and figures: the wordes of Christe are simply to be vnderstanded. Christ sayd to hys mother: behold thy sonne, and he sayd to John, beholde thy mother: so that it folowethe wel, Mary was Johns very trewe mother, and John was Maries very trewe sonne, but howe this thinge may be it behoueth vs not curiously to serche. Of a lyke fashon the wordes, which Christe spake at hys last supper when he there ministered to his disciples taking breade into his handes, and deliueyinge it broken to them, that sat with him sayinge: this is my body, be simply and plainly to be vnderstanded: that is to say, that the breade is the very body of Christe, and not the breade is a figure of the body of Christ, of the very same fashon the Emperours wordes muste be taken when he shewed me all churches sayinge: behold thy daughters, these wordes must be vnderstanded plainly as they stand: wherfore I conclude that they be my trewe lawfull doughters, and I am theyr mother.

*The people.* What: when you neuer begat them: I neither knewe, nether cold beleue that the Emperoure had euer any such authority, that he could make that thig to be done, which was neuer done in this world, that is to say, that he could make you bring forth those churches which ye neuer brought forth. Yf the emperor haue so greate power that he canne make those thinges to haue ben whiche were neuer, no doubt he can bring to passe also that those thinges were neuer which haue ben, and so may he cause also, that ye neuer wer, neither euer shalbe theyr mother. I woulde very fayne that ye coulde perswade the same thinge, which ye tolde me, to your monkes and prestes: that is, that the wordes of Christ are simply to be vnderstanded without any trope or figure, as this other say-



ing of Christ is: some there be, whiche haue geldyd  
thēselues for the kingdō of god, for takinge it plain-  
ly they would gelde themselues, and let my women  
alone vndefiled, neither would they be stayned with  
so much wicked filthines, which thynge they should  
moze wyllynge do, for that they so frowardlye  
defend that they wyll take no wyues. To possesse  
thynges not nedefull appereth to me not only super-  
fluose, but also folythe. Thys woulde I lerne of  
you, when the imperour sayed vnto you: beholde thy  
doughters, what thig was it y he shewed vnto you.  
*The church.* All churches.

*The people.* The churches of Christ, or the churches of  
the Deuill.

*The church.* I am indifferent.

*The people.* If it be as you saye, I thynke he shewed  
vnto you the churches of Satan. As touchynge my  
parte I dare boldly saye there is no cause why I  
should reioyse in this dignitie but rather lament: for  
wheras before I was your onely sonne and heyre,  
now when ye haue a meany of doughters, & ye must  
giue to euery one of thē theyr dower, so that I shal  
remayne a beggar.

*The church.* Naye thou shalt bee rychest of all other,  
knowe ye not the fashion of the turkes, which selleth  
theyr doughters for a certaine sūme of money to thē,  
that shalbe theyr husbandes: so will I sell my chur-  
ches and byshoprikes to them, that will giue moste  
money, and so shall the spoyle of all other prouinces  
come immediatly to Rome.

*The people.* Then will ye commit simonie, and nozise  
a den of thenes.

*The church.* I tolde thee afore that I can not erre,  
and

and so must thou beleue if thou wilt be accounted my sonne, yea although thou sawest me commit dayly all kindes of abhominacion.

*The peo.* This cannot be except I lose my fiue wittes.

*The church* Naye I woulde ye shoulde not onelye be perswadyd that I cannot erre, but also that I am most holy, & ought to be called most holy after such a sort, that he, which nameth me holy & not most holy, is to be thought not to speake of me.

*The people.* Then when the Apostles in the Crede saye: we muste beleue one holy church, wee must not thynke that sayng to belong to you. But I heard say not longe agoone a thyng more to bee wondered at, that our Byshop is made most holy of all, and moste blissed of all other a goddes name.

*The church* Thou hittest the nayle on the head.

*The people* Then as concerning holynes he shalbe superiour to Christ, who by the authoritie of scripture is named holy of holies: but this good blode of ours is called by the mouthes of me most holy. Therefore should he not desire to come into heauen. For be it that he were there euen now, more then blissed should he not be: and being in yearth he is accountyd most blissed. Wherefore he should not ascende to a higher state of felicitie but rather descende to a lower. And it is maruayle yf thangelles and Sayntes, whiche be in heauen, come not with spede to Rome, and there begynne to sue for thys dignitie of the Byshopryke of Rome, that they may be made more blissed and more holy then they now be. I heard more ouer that he is declared the head of all other churches.

*The church.* So it is in dede.

*The people.* Had not then the mistecall bodye of the church a head before now? Yf it were so it myghte

I H.

well



well be accounted monster lyke. And I meruayle very  
much howe it coulde lyue?

*The church.* Oh, Christe was the head.

*The people.* Then the Emperour hath taken away  
Christ, and put our Byshop in hys place?

*The church.* Nay not so: but he hath ioyned thys  
head to the church, and yet doeth Christ remayne.

*The people.* That talke is more shamefull. Was not  
Christe hable to gouerne his church as an vniuersal  
head? In the beginninge of the primatiue church &  
a lytle whyle after, the church of Christe dyd flourish  
very muche, and was wonderfully replenished, and  
yet had it none other head but Christe. He onely as a  
true head dyd gouerne it, and that exceedingly well  
by the instrumentes of hys ministers. Maye it come  
to passe at any tyme that Christe beinge wearied with  
his painfull gouernance woulde nowe rest him: so  
that he nowe hath committed it to the Emperours Dis-  
cretion to apoynt some suffragan, and helper in hys  
seede: or els truely is he muche displeased with hys  
church, and loueth it no more, neither regardeth the  
gouernance therof, but withdraueth his spirite fro  
it, and so shall he be a lyar in that he sayth: I am with  
you to the worlds ende. Furthermore, the Emperour as it  
apereth is more carefull for the church of Christ then  
god him selfe. For when god withdrewe Christ from  
his church, the Emperour hath provided it another  
head. But accordinge to the doctrine of Paule we be  
not ignorant that the militant congregaciō of Christe is  
as one body whose head is, was, & euer shalbe Christ  
himselfe. He as the only & trewe head hath gouerned  
it hether to singularly well, and will also gouerne it  
vntill the latter Daye of iudgement, and euen vntill  
suche

suche tyme as he hath subdued his enemies and put  
them vnder hys feete. Thynke ye that chzistian men  
be suche bussards that they wyll beleue Chziste and  
hys spirite to be taken awaye bp into heauen as into  
a place apoynted for hys maiestie: and is there con-  
teyned as a triumphinge head of the triumphaunte  
churche? And for that cause the Emperoure hathe  
apoynted another head of the churche militant in the  
stede of him, that is absēt: Yf it be so, ye must of force  
graunt, that the selfe same head, for as muche as it is  
destitute of the spirite of Chziste, hathe the spirite of  
the deuyl, & so shall it be a deuellihe head. And yf the  
churche militant shall from hence forth haue two  
heades, surely it shall bee a thyng lyke a monster.  
Neither canne I perceyue by coniecture howe two  
heades being equall in power, and most contrary in  
condicion, maye quietly and safely liue together, and  
gouerne at one tyme one speciall charge. Merely it is Math. 25.  
to be feared, (so wonderfull is the pryde of oure By-  
shop bred by the bone) that he wyll dzyue Chziste out  
of dores from hys owne kyngdome. But peraduen-  
ture thys thyng is trewe: yf oure Byshoppe be once  
made supzeme head of the churche militant, by the  
meanes wherof he maye be esteemed aboue Chziste:  
it maye so be that he wyll suffer after a sorte, that at  
the lest wayes he maye vse hys seruice as he were a  
sclaue. But I canne neuer bee perswadyd that he wyll  
suffer hymselfe by anye meane to be taken for an vn-  
derlyng to Chzist.

*The curche.* Thynke not that his power hath anye  
ende. For euen as all power in heauen and in yearth  
is geuen vnto Chziste, so is it likewise geuen to him.

*The people.* Yea, and further also both in purgatory  
and



and in hel. But speake no more of his power for surely he wyll take more vpon hym then I woulde wish. Another doubt I haue wherunto I would haue you answer me, yf ye can. Shall he be a common head to all other churches?

*The churche.* Yea verelie.

*The people.* Of late I learned of them that bee sene in logike, that perticuler menne bee those, whiche labour and doe any thyng, but manne that is common and generall to all men doeth nothyng. Then yf he be a common man he shall neither see, heare, perceyue, nor vnderstande, and so shall he bee nothyng elles but a very blocke or image.

*The churche.* But thou thyselfe shalte well perceyue, that he can see, heare, perceyue, and worke.

*The people.* I beleue it forsooth that he wyl swallow vp largely, yea the riches of other churches. But tel me howe that maye be? That he maye worke beyng a man that is common to all men.

*The churche.* He shalbe a perticuler man also.

*The people.* Whye then shall he not be one onelye, but he shalbe two. O what a foole am I, and howe dull witted. Nowe loe I leue wondryng. For as I heare say, as sone as he is made Pope he speaketh no more in the singular number but in the plurall: so he doeth no more saye: this I wil doe, or say, as they were wont in tynes past whē they wer but one man: but now he sayeth: we wyll doe, and we wil say, because that nowe he is made a double man. I am also resolued nowe in another doubt, whereof I shoulde neuer haue ben answered yf ye had not made me perceyue it.

*The churche.* What doubt is that?

**The people.** I haue hearde many tymes saye that after he is created Pope, he can not erre as the Pope, but yet he maye many tymes as a man erre.

**The church.** That is very trewe.

**The people.** Nowe I am sure of thys trueth, that as he is Pope and a common man, he can not worke any thyng, neither erre.

**The church.** Nay as he is Pope he worketh wonders, & can not erre because of the holy gost which is assistant vnto hym.

**The people.** Then by your sayng he can not be at one tyme a Pope and a man, for the myght he at one time erre and not erre. He myght erre as a manne, and not erre as the Pope. Therfore at some tyme must he be a Pope and no man, and then can he not erre. But yet can I not well perceaue what monstrous beaste thys may be which is a Pope and no man, and agayne an other time a man & no Pope. And I meruaile wonderfully, that they will robbe the Popeshipe so much of so great a dignitie, and so to leaue him a bare man. Nowe be it I beleue in dede, (althoughe of an other sort,) that no Pope can erre, because that Christ euer hath bene, and euer shalbe the very onely and true head of hys church, neuer shall there bee anye other Pope, or head of Christes church.

**The church.** I dare not affirme that our Synnshopes can neuer be heretikes.

**The people.** Peraduenture some haue bene.

**The church.** If any suche thyng chaunce, in that he is an heretike, he cesses to be Pope. Yet is this thyng trewe that ye must obey hym, and allowe him so long for Pope vntyll he bee iudged and condemned for an heretike, and be deposed from hys Popshipe by the authoritie



authoritie of a generall counsell.

*The people.* So that if he cōpel me to his wickednes, and commaunde me to beleue his heresies before he be deposed of hys popshipe, I must obey by youre iudgemēt. Surely it is handsomly counselled of you.

*The churche.* Thou must obey him in thinges rightfull & honest, & not in thynges that be wicked, euen as ye would doe, if a man would force you to beleue an heresie.

*The people.* Euen now ye sayed he coulde not erre as he was Pope: but he as Pope commaūdeth me to assent to hys wycked opinions, and by youre mynde I must alowe him for Pope, vntyll he be deposed by thauthoritie of a lawefull counsell. & herfore it foloweth that I am bounde to obey hym, and to be an heretike as he is.

*The churche.* Thou shalt not trust hym in heresie & wicked doctrine, though he would cōmaund them to you a thousand tymes.

*The people.* And howe shall I knowe when he fauoreth and teacheth a wicked doctrine: for by youre sayinge I muste beleue that he can not erre, because that whatsoeuer he appoynteth me to beleue, I must determine it to be wholsome doctrine and infected with no dregges of wickednes. So þ in thys poynte I shall not folowe the iudgement of myne owne reason. And yf I shoulde apoynt the worde of God to be iudge, by youre doctrine I shall not vnderstande it, but after the Popes pleasure and exposition. And yf the Pope write the scriptures wickedly, & expound them frowardly, as he is wont, and by that means frame some heresies, which he will giue me, that am ignozant, to beleue: shall I be bounde to receaue and  
honour

honour them as Articles of my fayth: for he must be as it were my refuge & succour, and a continual guyd & rule to declare holy scriptures. Yea, yf the generall counsell woulde declare him to be a wicked man, and woorthye to be deposed from hys office, yet ought I to allow hym as Pope at the lest waye s bntyll suche tyme as he hath declared the general counsell to be lawfully gathered, and that he was iustly condempned in that counsell. But I aske of you: is the Pope aboue the counsell, or beneth, or equal:

*The church.* Aboue.

*The peo.* Then hath he alone more knowlege and inspiracion then the whole counsell. And therfore be it that the counsell lawfully assembled had condempned his doctrine for heresie, yet ought I rather beleue him then the whole counsell, forasmuch as he is aboue them and more indewed with supernaturall light then they be. But tel me this one thing: ye sayd euē now, if y Pope were an heretike, yet ought I to receaue him as Pope until such time as he were deposed by thautoritie of a counsell. Now this questiō I demaūd of you: yf it should chaūce the Pope to be an heretike, and yet not so declared by the counsell, whether were he in dede Pope or no?

*The church.* Yf suche a thing should chaunce, I durst not affirme him to be Pope. For thē should he erre in dede, & that in matters of the faith, & that as pope, but I sayd euen now that he could not erre as pope, althoughe he erred as a man.

*The people.* Why then should he no more be pope.

*The church.* Noe truly.

*The people.* And how or whē dyd he lose his popeship?

*The church.* In that he is an heretike.



**The people.** Yf the matter be as you say there shalbe very fewe trewe Popes, no none at all. For a man can not be a Pope, except he be an heretike, yf he were in no point els, yet should he be in thys, that he must beleue the Pope to bee the supreme head of the church of Christe. But let vs graunt (although it be not so) that a mā may be a Pope in dede, and yet no heretike. When I am not assertyned, whether he erre in hys mynde or not, in matter that belongeth to our fayth, I shalbe alwayes in a dout whether he be the trewe Pope or not, and therfore shal I also be in dout whether I shall credit his wordes or not, and so shall I be alwayes doutfull in my faith.

**The church.** He is alwayes Pope although he be an heretike in hys harte, if it so bee that he disclose not hym selfe to be suche a one.

**The people.** What if he disclose himselfe to be an heretike to some other man and not to me.

**The church.** Trewly then should he no more be Pope.

**The people.** Then forasmuche as I knowe not whether he haue at any tyme declared hym selfe to be an heretike or not, I shall haue his doctrine alwayes in a ielosye and suspicion neyther shall I knowe certaynly that he is Pope and canne not erre, because I shall neuer knowe certaynly whether he haue disclosed hym selfe to some man to be an heretike or not.

**The church.** This shalbe enoughe for the, to thynke him to be alwayes a Pope to the, so longe as he hath not declared himselfe to the to be an heretike. But to suche as he declareth hym selfe to be an heretike, to them he is Pope no more in very dede.

**The people.** The if he declare hym selfe an heretike to other men, and not to me, he shoulde be a Pope to me,  
and

And not to other.

*The church.* It is euen so as ye say.

*The people* But my Desier is very much to know whether he be then a Pope in him selfe or not: ye can not by any means proue him to be Pope and not Pope, & all at once. For if such a worde shoulde escape youre mouthe ye should perceauie playnly that ye spake contradiction. Neither can ye affirme that he is pope. For where as he did erre before other, yea and that in the doctrine of saluacion, than you must nedes graunt that he erreth, as Pope, whiche thinge before you sayed coulde not be. Therfore ye bee forced to graunt that he is not Pope. But I which shall neuer haue knowledge whether he hath declared to other himselfe to be an heretike or not: shall be in a continuall doutinge whether he be truly pope or not, & so whether he can erre or not, of the whiche thinge there aryseth a certayne trembling in my conscience, so that I shall neuer bee certayne and suer of the veritie and truethe of his doctrine. And so muche the more shall I dout, be it that he declared himselfe an heretike to me, because I can worse descerne the trewe doctrine from the false and worse iudge whether his opinions bee hereticall or not, namely because his worde must bee the fyrst and chiefe rule of my faythe. But let vs now make an end of our disputacions because the tyme is spent, and I must go to the imperour, before whom I will powre out my complayntes agaynst many ydel varlettes who after they perceaued the greatnes of our bishoppe they rane to Rome in sholes, to get some offices and benefices at his handes, and fewe there be that bringe not theyr trulles with them, and suche as do not, fal on woynge at Rome. But it wer a heuy thing

G.ii. thing



thing for me if Rome shoulde be turned into Troy.  
*The curche.* Besides this noble dignitie of our byshop,  
I am to muche occupied with an infinite number  
of matters, of ceremonies, of suites, and controuer-  
sies, & of other prophane thiges, that I haue no time  
left to scratch my head. wherfore now wil I forsake  
you. But I wyll tel you one thyng yet before I goe.  
Sence this man was created pope I haue ben won-  
derfully vexed and sicke bothe in body and soule, e-  
uen as though I had dronke a pociion of poyson. And  
I canne not well tell whether I gat thys sycknes of  
to muche ioy wherewith I was replenyshed by the  
reason of the greatnes of my promocion, or elles of  
thintollerable burden of busineses which grow to-  
wardes me dayly. Nowe haue I nothinge elles to  
saye, but that I offer my newe kindes of marchan-  
dise to bee solde to you before other, and that better  
chepe than any straunger shall haue them.

*The people.* I thanke you for youre marchant lyke ci-  
uillite, and agayne I offer vnto you my fauor, and  
all my strength, and power to defend and increase the  
greatnes of your honour.

**The Pope.**

**Mans Judgement.**

**The people of Rome.**

*The Pope.*



At the last we be come to thys highe honor,  
whiche we haue so much desired (and that  
is moze to bee wondered at) by the whole  
consent of all the people of Rome. I would  
neuer haue thought suche a numbze of the nobilitie  
woulde haue come to gratifie me and to increase my  
ioye. They thynke verely that thys oure promocion  
shal

shall increase and amplifie their ryches, and power not a litle. But I am informed for a certayntie that many fozen churches were muche vexed therewith, namelye suche as bee of the East partes. Wherfore we vnderstande that they sende embassadozs (what they bee I can not tell) to replie agaynst the thynge, and it maye so be, that they wyll dzyue the matter to a disputacion. Now is it therfore necessarie for vs to arme our selues for oure defence, and as in a matter of great weyghte, and importaunce, to vse a wittie counsell. Wherfore mans iudgement (who art one of my pryue counsell) with thee I thynke it best to consult.

*Mans iudge.* Truly sir I haue tossed & turned al this matter in my minde agayne and agayne, & after long and earnest fantasyinge, I conclude that there is no more presente remedie, to preserue, increase, and establish thys your promocion, kingdom, and authoritie, then to contend, and earnestly to stand in it, that it is not the ordinaunce of man but of God. So that it is Christ hymself, who hath ordeined you to be supreme head of the churche, and that with a whole fulnes of power: otherwyse shall ye hange alwayes vpon the Emperour, who hath placed you in this highe estate of honoure, & by that meanes as he once gaue it you, so maye he agayne take it awaye from you.

Moreouer your Empier and authoritie cannot be stretched out further then the coastes of the Emper of Rome extendith, besydes thys all Christendō wyll laugh to scorne thys fayned, and conterfect dominion. Tying out that Christe is the supreme head of his churche, and that he alone is able ynough to gouerne it well with out the helpe of an other head.



oz of any other deceyptfull manne, as he hath by hys ministers gouerned it hether to . But yf ye contende earnestly that it is Christ who hath put you in thys place, ye shall bothe be deliuered from hanging vpon the Emperour, and shall also be as farre aboue hym as holy and spirituall matters are to be preferred to matters pꝛophane and worldely . So that your authoritie being by thys meanes established, ye shall enter into all the coastes of the yearth . There shalbe no Christian men in the worlde, but when they shall bee perswaded that Christe was the authoꝛ of thys ordinaunce (who hath made you his vicar, & of whome ye haue receyued thys highe authoritie) but they wyll come to you of their owne swynge as though they would wurship this Godhead of yours in earth, and wyll gloꝛye that they maye obey you.

*The Pope* I woulde alowe thys counsell of yours very well yf it might be brought to passe by any meanes that I coulde perswade so manifest a vanitie to the worlde.

*Mans iudge.* The folishenes of manne is growen so farre nowe, accompanied with a wonderfull deceyt and wickednes, & I of my selfe am so subtile & craftie, that me thynketh it a thyng easie to perswade, yea and that I nowe see the meanes howe.

*The Pope.* I desire of all loues, that ye wyll tell me by some inkeling what thyng it is that ye euen nowe mused vpon, for ye may well know, that it is my ioy to talke of suche thynges.

*Mans iudge.* Yf there coulde bee one iote founde in the holy scripture, wherupon wee myght leane for a pꝛofe that Paule the Apostle was ordeyned of God to bee supꝛeme and vniuersall head of the churche militant

institant, yea though it seemed writhed and wraisted  
with the braakes of your authoritie, and drawen by  
violence to our purpose agaynst the naturall sence, &  
yet so that there were some likeihood therein: the vic-  
torie were ours. For it is euident by the worde of  
god that Paule was sometime at Rome, & though he  
were then in prison, yet shall wee persuaide by all  
meanes possible that he was made Bishop of thys  
Citie, whose office and dignitie you haue by inheri-  
taunce and succession obteyned. I haue occupied my  
fantasie to and fro, and haue chewed thys question  
diligently, and so at the last I perceyue that there be  
many wordes in the holy scripture, whiche with a lit-  
tle wraisting woulde make the blinde ignorant com-  
mon people gyue credite to thys bayne opinion: that  
Paule was the chiefe of all the Apostles, and vniuer-  
sall head of all the churches of Christe. And yet shall  
we not therfore obteyne all our purpose. For the selfe  
same holy scripture is in other places directiue and  
in playne wordes agaynst vs. Forasmuche as it is  
euident that Paule thapostle was none of the twelue  
Apostles of Christ: yea and when Christ was here  
in earthe, he was his enemye and persecutor, and af-  
terwarde also a certayne space. Neither is it lykelye  
that Christ woulde ascende into heauen, but woulde  
first well forsee to his churche, and leaue vnto it one  
certayne head to be hys vicar & occupie hys roome.  
Thys thyng was very necessary for him to doe. This  
last reason must we alleage earnestly, and defende it  
stoutly, yf we intende to obtayne oure purpose. But  
nowe haue I deuised a farre better waye. There bee  
many places in the gospell whiche may easily be wri-  
thed to oure purpose. That is to saye, wherby some  
lykelihod



likelyhod maye be alleged, that Peter thapostle was pronounced chiefe of the apostles by Christ his owne mouth, and was created supreme head of his church militant. Nowe yf we coulde bring hym to Rome, & make hym Byshop of thys citie, it shall bee an easie thing to persuad that you be his successor, and so shal we obteyne all our purpose.

*The Pope.* Will ye attempt to bringe Peter nowe to Rome: and he died so many yeres agone? This thing me thinketh cannot be.

*Mans iudge.* In case I shoulde reyse hym vp from Deathe and bring hym to Rome, and so in conclusion make hym Byshop of this citie, what woulde ye say?

*The Pope.* Mary I woulde withstand it with tothe & nayle. Neither canst thou make him Bishop of thys citie, but thou shalt bereue me of thys my dignitie.

*Mans iudge.* Yf I shoulde make hym Byshop, and yet robbe not you of youre honour, but rather establishe you, and make you his successor, shoulde it not please you?

*The Pope.* Yes wonderfully. But I see not how that may be brought about.

*Mans iudge.* I haue wrytten certayne epistles in the name of those christian men whiche were at Rome in the time of the beginning of the church, wherin there is oft mencion made of Peter as though he had bene at Rome, and not onely Byshop of thys citie, but also Pope, and vniuersall head of all the churche militant, as though sundry constitucions had bene then by him made. And bycause ye shall prayse my wit the more I wrot all thys gere in so wonderfull olde bookes, that for age they coulde scarcely hange together. There is no man that seeth them but they wil iudge, they

they were written a thousand yeres agoe or more.  
Lette vs make the people beleue that these booke be  
newly found by chaunce in some olde rotten libzary,  
and so when thys rumoz shal once be blowne abroad,  
the common people will strayght beleue that Peter  
was at Rome. If ther were none other cause, yet that  
he came for religions sake, on pilgremage to sayn-  
tes reliques, and to receyue the iubilie and full pardō.  
*The Pope.* Yet is not all thys ynough. For be it that he  
were at Rome, that not with standinge he departed  
after he had receyued the iubilie, and toke his Pope-  
ship away with hym, and so shall we no longer be his  
successors. Therefore is it nedefull that as ye haue  
brought hym to Rome, and haue made him Pope,  
so ye cause hym also to dye at Rome.

*Mans iudge* Abyde a whyle, thys is the thing I went  
about: I haue done this thing already. And for a con-  
firmacion of the whole matter, I gat me an olde scul  
bone of a dead carcass, into which I dyd put a paper  
whiche had these wordes contayned in it. Thys is  
the head of Saynct Peter the firste Pope of Rome.  
Moreouer I haue compassed this head about with  
an other head of siluer, and haue so framed it with a  
great bearde, that it appeareth verely to be Saynct  
Peters head. And I doubt not but that thys fayned  
matter maye be easily perswaded to the people, yf it be  
published abroad by your authoritie.

*The Pop.* We must of necessitie graunt that Peter  
was crucified vpon a crosse, for so dyd Christ prophes-  
cie of hym, nowe, it is well knowen that it was the  
vse of the Jewes and not of the Romans to hange  
menne vpon the crosse. Wherefore I see not howe the  
people wyll beleue that Peter was kyled at Rome,

H. I.

and

John. xxi.



and put vpon the crosse by the Romans.

*Mans iudge.* Tushe, men will not be so curious in either mens matters, to searche euery poynt of them so narrowly. And agayne, we shall haue a sure staffe to leane to, wherunto we may alwayes resorte. We will say that god wold haue it so, that Christes wordes mought bee fulfilld. Who can proue the contrary? Besydes this I haue many remedies, a meanes how to preserue, increase, and establishe you in thys highe honour, as ye shal see by experience, neither will I let any good occasion ouerslyp, that may be to your furtheraunce. Be it that there come Embassadours to the citie of Rome: I alone wyll aunswere them all as they ought to be aunswered. In the meane space shall you begyn a litle and litle to publishe, abroad that it is Christ, who hath made you Pope, and that ye be the successor of Peter the high Bishop of Rome.

*The Pope.* But what will then the Emperour say, when he shall perceyue that we noyse it abroad that it was Christ, and not he, whiche made me Pope?

*Mans iudge.* Our aunswere shal bee that ye were declared and confirmed the chiefe Bishoppe by the emperours maiestie, but yet that it was Christ, who hath placed you in so highe a seat, euen as he did youre predecessors before you. But loe one whom ye sawe not, a gentle man called the people of Rome, I thinke he cometh to see you, and to do hys deuotion. I praye you offer hym youre fore to kysse, that ye maye so begyn to bring that thyng into a laudable custome.

*The people.* And euen for the same very purpose, haue I caused a redde crosse to be made on the ouer parte of my fore.

*Mans iudge.* Although many thinke that to be Done  
of

of you in despite of the crosse, yet is it iustly and well  
done to sette the crosse in the lowest place, yea and  
Christ hymselfe also, that your glozy may be auan-  
ced to a most hyghe state. Namely for that we know  
the crosse of Christe alwaye to be hated of the wyse  
men of thys worlde. And to save the truethe, it had  
ben more mete for you to haue caused the crosse to be  
set vnder the sole of your fote, if it had not bene payn-  
full for you to lyft vp youre fote so oft to all suche as  
woulde kysse it. But I wyll withdraue my selfe for  
a tyme, that you maye comon alone at your pleasure  
with thys sonne of yours.

*The people of.* Oh happie and blisshed am I, sence  
I haue thus muche fauoure shewed me, that I maye  
be suffered to come, and kysse these holye and blisshed  
feete.

*The pope.* In consideracion that thys benefit maye  
be the more esteemed, we graūt to you out of the trea-  
sure of Peter & Paule and other holy Apostles and  
Saynctes fortie tymes fortie dayes of pardon.

*The people.* A goodly rewarde, and we thanke  
you highly, we thanke you I say as speakyng to ma-  
ny whiche be most holy and most blisshed Popes.

*The Pope.* What meanest thou by that? That thou  
didest call vs most blisshed and most holy Popes in the  
plurall numbze: thinkest thou that we be many Po-  
pes? Seest thou not vs onely placed in this dignitie?

*The people.* Pardon thou me I beseeche the molte  
holye and blisshed father. When I herde the speake in  
the plurell numbze, I thoughte that there had bene  
two Popes at the least.

*The Pope.* Dost not thou perceyue thy selfe to  
speake vnrerentlye, thou sayest pardon thou me:

H ii.

vnderstande



vnderstandest thou not that thou shouldest of murther,  
and dewe reuerence speake to vs in the plurell num-  
bre: And that because he worketh continually in vs,  
who first auanced vs to this high dignitie, for we be  
not alone in working. Otherwise whē thou shouldest  
speake by name to vs, thou oughtest to speake in the  
singular number, and that because oure parson and  
dignitie is but one.

*The People.* I beseeche your holynes to pardon me,  
because I am not yet acquainted with these rites of  
ceremonies. Ye haue heard I thinke of the number of  
Embassadours whiche bee sent from sundry partes  
of the worlde, of whome a great company be come to  
Rome alredy.

*The Pope.* For what purpose saye they that they  
bee come?

*The people.* To replie against you, being offended with  
this high honour that the Emperour hath geuen you.

*The Pope.* We haue receyued thys popshyppe of  
Christ, and not of the Emperour.

*The people.* Truly I herde say it was geuen you  
of the Emperour.

*The Pope.* And who tolde the so?

*The people.* Your church of Rome, of whom I  
perceyued of late in comunicacion, that it was ge-  
uen you of Césars maiestie.

*The Pope.* As concerninge thys matter, she is not  
aduised what she sayeth.

*The people.* And she sayth plainly that she cannot erre.

*The Pope.* Truth in dede, no more can she, when  
she is informed and instructed of me. Ye know right  
well accordinge to the doctrine of Paule that a wo-  
man must bee subject to her husbände, and so farre  
forthe

forth she speaketh well, as she receyuethe knowlege  
of him: of the same fashion the church of Rome spea-  
keth well, and erreth not, so farre forth as she recey-  
ueth instruccions and knowledge of me: for she is my  
spouse, and therefore is she my wyfe.

The people. Why how the, doth she not acknowledge  
Christ to be her spouse?

The po. Yes truly she is both Christes spouse & mine.

The people. This is the first tyme that euer I heard  
that one woman maye haue two husbandes. I haue  
herde of sundry menne that hath had many wyues,  
but I neuer herde of one woman that hath had ma-  
nye husbandes. But let thys passe, and let vs retorne  
agayne to our former talke. And most humblye thys  
one thyng I beseeche your holines it wyll bouchesafe  
to tell me: Howe hathe your holines obteyned thys  
hygh Byshoprike at Christes hande?

The Pope. We will tell the. Christ beinge y<sup>e</sup> head of the  
church ordeyned Peter before he ascendyd into hea-  
uen to be his vicar and successor. And because he cam  
to Rome and brought his high Popeship with hym,  
and dieng there hathe left the same to his successors,  
that is to say to y<sup>e</sup> other Bishoppes of Rome in order:  
we now beinge Byhope of Rome haue receyued of  
Christ by succession and inheritaunce this high Pon-  
tificall dignitie power and authoritie.

The people. I heare newes now that I neuer herd be-  
fore: Namely thys that Peter was euer at Rome. I  
am of an excedinge great age (as ye see) & haue dwel-  
led in Rome in Peters daies. And so desireful I was  
to heare newes, that yf euer he had come to Rome no  
doubt I woulde haue sene hym, and it had bene for  
none other cause, yet truly woulde I so haue done



for his worthye names sake, wherwith he filled our  
Citie, neyther woulde I haue suffered the remem-  
brance of hym to haue decayed, euen as I haue di-  
ligently preserued vntyll thys daye fresh, the remem-  
brance of Paule. No man can either thinke, or shewe  
what tyme he was here, and I absent. For I neuer  
went out of thys citie.

*The Pope.* All the tyme whyles he was here, for  
the moste parte he was in prison, and therfore is it no  
meruayle thou sawest hym not.

*The people.* I haue bene alwayes and am tyll thys  
daye exceding quisitiue, and curious in searchynge of  
newes. My studie is to knowe what is done euery-  
where, I range and wander euen to the very prisōs.  
It is not possible that suche a manne shoulde at anye  
tyme haue come to Rome, and haue bene cast in pry-  
son for the gospelles sake, but I shoulde haue hearde  
of it. Howebeit I not onely neuer sawe hym, but more  
ouer I neuer hearde of any man liuyng that euer he  
was at Rome, sauing euen now of your holynes.

*The Pope.* Yt maye so bee, that whyles he was at  
Rome he laye hyd in some corner.

*The people.* Howe then preached he the gospel here,  
by thoccasion wherof he was cast in prison, and at the  
last hanged vpon the crosse. Besydes thys, if he were  
Byshope of Rome, howe was he chosen to that dig-  
nitie yf he were not knowen whyles he remayned in  
Rome.

*The pope.* Marke well thys thyng that I shall say  
vnto thee. Thou must be circumspect and wise, when  
it shall chaunce the to reason of thys matter. For the  
daye maye come, when we shall call the forth to bee  
a wytnes in it. Whiche thyng if it happen, we wyll  
the

the to say that thou diddest bothe see and know him.  
The people What would ye haue me lie lustely: and so  
sensibly that euery manne might perceauie it:

The Pope. We absolue the of this faulte, and fur-  
ther we let the to witte, that we doe al these thinges  
of a good and holy intent, a for the glory of god. And  
this dare we be bold to say, that great honor a profit  
shall arise to the by thincreasynge of our dignitie.

The people. Yf I bee absolved of thys lye, I can not  
but doe for you in al other thinges, because that her-  
by shall insewe to me a very great commoditie. But  
lest I should be taken with my lye, I woulde fayne  
knowe what I shall aunswere, when I am asked,  
namely of the time when Peter was at Rome.

The Pope. Thou shalt say that he dwelled at Rome  
still, after he came once thether vntill his dyenge day.

The people. Beinge demaunded when he came fyrst,  
shall I say before Paule or after:

The Pope. It is beste for the to say before Paule, lest  
men should haue occasion to thinke, that Paule was  
byhoppe of Rome before Peter.

The People. Nowe call I to remembraunce when  
Paules cause was first hearde here at Rome before  
Cesars throne, al christian mē forsoke him, as he him-  
self wyrteth in a certaine epistle þ he made to Timo-  
thie. And herfore it must then be graunted that he was  
thē forsaken of Peter for feare. Which thing semeth  
not likely that ther should so great a fault be found in  
Peter, who had so earnest a feruent a zeale towards  
religion, and full of christian charitie, namelye after  
Christ ascended into heauē, and replenishid him with  
the holy ghost.

The Pope I coulde not remembre so harde a dont  
as

2. Timoi. 4.



as thys is. It is best thē to say that Peter came whē  
Paule was alre dy examined.

The people Agayne beyng demanded whether he  
were chosen Byshoppe of Rome in thys citie or not,  
what answere shall I make?

The Pope Hary thou shalt constantly say yea.

The people Well, then receaued he hys byshoprik of  
men, and not simply & only of Christ. Now thē shal it  
bee trewe that he was pronounced by Christe heade  
of all other churches?

The pope Thou vnderstādest not this matter. Peter  
had .ii. bishoprikes, one perticular, & another general.  
The chiefe & is to say, & general: he receaued of Christ,  
wherby he is bishop & head of al other churches & bi-  
shoprikes. The latter, that is to saye the perticular  
he receaued of men wherby he was the Bishoppe of  
Rome.

The people, I haue sene amongst them which pro-  
fesse mounkry, when they goe on theyr general visita-  
cion of & prouinces comitted to their charge, they wil  
not bee so generall prouincials, that they wyll take  
vpon them to remoue them away whome they find,  
but suffer thē to remayne, and do their office, as they  
did before, and they also be contented with theyr of-  
fice of visitacion. Of a like sorte me thinketh if Christ  
had ordeyned Peter a vniuersall byshope of all other  
bishoppes, his deutie should be to visit all other chur-  
ches, and yet to leaue euery byshop remayninge in his  
owne diocese, and he himselfe to bee contented with  
his owne office, and regarde nothinge to bee created  
byshop of euery sundry church. But I pray you thys  
one thinge, was Peter a bishoppe before he was made  
byshope of Rome and Antioche or not?

The

**The pope.** He was but yet a generall bythope of the whole church of Christe, and no seuerall bishoppe of Rome or Antioche.

**The people.** Then was he called an vniuersall Bythop of Christe, and of hys church, by the means wherof he was called a christian bythope, and not the bishop of Rome.

**The Pope.** It is verie trewe as ye say.

**The people.** Nowe maruayle I very muche, whie after he was made bythoppe of Rome, he refused the fyrst tytle, and receaued the latter, seinge that hys last bythoprike was no cause why he should lose the first: that not withstandinge he woulde no more be called the chiefe Christian bythop, but the bythop of Rome. And yet without controuersy the fyrste tytle is more worthy tytle then is the latter. And as for the fyrste name and tytle he had it of Christe, the latter of man. Yf Peter at any tyme woulde haue receyued and allowed to bee called the chiefe christian Bythoppe, suerlye youre predecessours woulde haue vsurped and challenged the same title: Which thing because it is not done, but they be called & bishoppes of Rome, many men will thinke that neither they, neyther any of theyr predecessors were euer vniuersall bythoppe of all churches. For if that had so been, trewely they woulde haue chaunged the perticular title with the more general and more worthy title, or at the leste wayes youre holynes shoulde nowe at the last begyn to be called, neither the chiefe, nether the Romish bythop, but a Christian bishop of Christ, and of his congregacion, and create some priuat bishoppe of Rome in youre stede.

I.i.

The



**The Pope.** Ye canne not perswade vs to be so much  
a sole, that we will refuse the byshoprike of Rome to  
runne in visitacion of churches hether & thither lyke  
Egyptyans. We wyl holde faste thys byshoprike of  
Rome, and further more we will be, and require so to  
be accounted, the supreme head of all other byshops.

**The people.** As for my parte I am right well conten-  
ted, and satisfied how so euer the matter goe, neyther  
did I moue thys matter for any other purpose, but  
because that name and title of a Christian byshoppe  
seemeth to me muche more excellent, then to be called  
bythope of Rome. But and it may like your holynes,  
was Peter the fyrste byshoppe of Rome?

**The Pope.** That is without question.

**The people.** Surely I maruaile muche that Paule  
was so notable an Apostle, and so muche esteemed be-  
fore Peter, and yet was not made byshop of Rome.  
And another thing I meruaile at muche more, that  
althoughe the churche of Christe was at Rome, yea  
and that many yeres before Paule came thether, and  
many wyse and godly men were in it (as it appereth  
in the Epistle, whiche Paule wrote specially to them,  
wher he saluteth them by name) yet that theyr church  
was so euell ordered, that it lacked a byshoppe.

**The Pop.** There were byshoppes there, but Peter  
was not the first byshop of Rome: but the first chiefe  
bist oppe of all other, and he made an ordinance that  
all byshops of Rome, which should afterwarde follow  
hym, should also be þ highest bishops aboue all other.

**The people.** Merely I can not see from whence Peter  
had this authoritie to make suche an ordinance, that  
all bishops of Rome shoulde be Popes, and vicars of  
Christ, althoughe they were wicked helhoundes, me  
thinket,

thinketh it had ben done accordinge to iustice, & equi-  
tie, if any shoulde be ordeyned byshoppe aboue all o-  
ther bishops, and churches, the same, should be chosen  
by the consent of all byshops, and all churches. And  
thys thinge is moſte of all to be maruayled at, howe  
it may come to paſſe, that all your predecessors from  
Peter euen vntill thys day were highest byshoppes,  
and heade of all churches, and yet vsed not they this  
authoritie: no there was neuer communicacion of it  
before thys presente.

*The Pope.* Neuer thinke that that is so, as thoughe  
they were not chiefe byshoppes in very dede: but be-  
cause it was not nedeful for them to vse theyr autho-  
ritie, and of a certayne modestie, they declared not the  
selues chiefe bishopes, as they were. But nowe there  
bee so manye heresies arisen in the churche of god,  
suche sundrye sectes, and dissencions that we haue  
thought it necessary, for a remedy agaynste so many  
mischefes, to declare oure selues, what power we  
haue by Christe, & so to vse oure most high authoritie.

*The people.* I vnderstande you well. Namelye because  
the chiefe byshoppes of Rome (as I heare saye) can  
not erre. This one thing also can I not hyde, whiche  
semeth to me sumwhat: yf they haue receaued thys  
high authoritie of Christ, they ought by no meanes to  
kepe it secrete and hid, but to disclose it to the whole  
world, whether they vsed it or not, accordinge as the  
circumstances of thinges, parsones, tymes, and places  
shoulde requier, and that shoulde the more diligent-  
lye haue bene done, for that it is nowe opened with a  
greate offence of all good and godly menne, and the  
worlt poynt of all is, that men be not so foliſhe nowe  
a dayes, that they wyll gyue anye credyt vnto you.  
But I as a good child of your holines, will alwaies

I.ii.

the we



the we my selfe obedient, and redy to beleue you. And because I woulde trouble youre holynes no longer with your blessed license I will departe.

The pope. And we now geue the our blyssing frely.

Thomas Massuccius the master of the horse.

Lepidus the popes chamberlayne.

Mas.



Yonder I see master Lepidus commynge hastely and cherfully out of themperours courte. I will wayte vpon hym, to knowe whether he brynge vs any good tydings.

God saue you master Lepidus. Suerly you brynge vs some good newes, as a man would iudge by your countenance, ye seme so pleasant and mery.

Lepidus. I haue so much ioye trussed vp in this brest of myne, that I can scarcely staye my selfe within my skynne.

Mas. As nobell hartes of the worlde may bee esteemed so muche the more happie, the larger they spred abroad theyr happie state and felicitie. Wherfore I beseeche you vouchesafe to tell me wherof this ioy of yours ariseth, that youre ioy may bee increased euen with the tellinge therof.

Lepidus. Why is it your chaunce alone not to heare of the Disputacio, that hath ben in the court of Rome, & of that triumph, & victorie that we haue obtained.

Mas. I knowe nothinge elles, but that the last day I heard tell of certayne Embassadors, which came from sundrye coastes of the world to Rome, whiche woulde reply with open mouthe agaynst this highe authozitie of the pope.

Lepidus. This day was ther an open and a solempne Disputacion

disputacion in the presence of Cæsars maiestie of thys matter, and in conclusion our men haue obteyned the highe power of the Pope.

M<sup>as</sup>. I woulde fayne knowe what reasons they had to bringe this vnworthy matter to passe.

Lepidus. Suerly I know a greate number of them, and some of them were suche, that I dare not disclose them vnto you, onles ye promes me befoze to kepe them to your selfe.

M<sup>as</sup>. Yf they be suche reasons, as may not be lawfully kept secret, ye requier in bayne to kepe counsell of them, and thoughe I sware a thousand tymes, yet ought I not to kepe it: but if I maye lawfullye and ought to kepe it secret, ye maye haue so muche credyt in me, that ye maye beleue I wyll kepe counsell without an othe, yf ye thinke me a man not worthe to be trusted, then are ye the more to blame to require an othe of me, from the whiche the Pope maye easily absolue me, by reason of the high power that he now hath, howbeit I promes you by the fayth of a Christian manne to kepe counsell, if I may doe it lawfully.

Lepidus. Forasmuche as I truste you not a litle by the reaso of our old frendshipe, I can not but disclose the whole matter vnto you. When the holines of our Lord & master herd say & the most parte of the whole world was much troubled for this wõderful dignity wherunto he hath attained, and that also theyr Embassadors were come to cry out against it openly, he toke this wayes fyrste, whiche appered to make very muche for his purpose. As sone as they came to Rome, he sent vnto the secretly goodly flaggons of y best wyne, that could be gottē, of Maluesey, of wyne of Tribiana, of S. John, of Grecia, and of Corsica.

I.iii.

M<sup>as</sup>.



**Mas.** Suerly this was a goodly beginninge, that he made to the straungers, whereby to compasse, and ouercome them, and (as it were) to claspe them by the very throte.

**Lepidus.** He sent moreouer a goodly present, and a bewtifull of blyssinges, Pardons, Iubilies, priuileges, immunities, and very riche promesses of benefices, and of all other suche giftes, which either he now had, or els shoulde haue here after. After thys he sent vnto euery one of them cleane remission a pena et culpa. Then he absolued them of their othes, that they had made to suche as had sent them.

**Mas.** Very well, that by the meanes therof he might more easely corrupt them.

**Lepi.** Nay, that they bein g absolued, and set fre from their othes, myght more easely, and frely styke to the trueth. And so he caused hys seruantes to saye vnto them, lest peraduenture men shoulde conceyue some euil opinion of them. He signified also vnto them that he was very ioyfull, when he heard of their comming to Rome, that they myght see with their owne eyes, and iudge with theyr owne knowlege, and know the whole trueth of the matter, euen as it was, so that at theyr retorne home agayne into theyr contreyes they mought shine to other with the light of their knowledge, who peraduenture should other wise remayne in the darkenes of ignoraunce or of some false surmise.

**Mas.** And yf he were not Pope, I durst be bolde to saye, he lyed shamefullye in so sayeng. For I am sure that the comming of thimbassadors was as pleasant to hym, as though one had hurled salt into hys eyes.

**Lepi.** And because the disputacion of his Pontifical prerogatiue must be in the presence of Cesar, and the  
Popes

**P**opes holynes for sundrye consideracions woulde  
defende it to be of God, and geuen to hym by Christe,  
& not by theemperour: he fearinge lest by this meanes  
the Emperours maiestie woulde be vexed, signified  
vnto him that he woulde proponde, and establishe the  
matter after thys sorte: not because he dyd not ac-  
knowledge that he had thys dignitie onely of hym,  
at whose commaundement he woulde alwayes bee,  
and recognise hym to bee hys singular patrone, and  
defender: but bycause he woulde deliuer hym from al  
suspicion, and flaunder, which many without cloyng  
dyd obiect, as though it were very euill done of hym,  
whiche beltoed this honoirr vpon one mortal man,  
And lest also other Princes, takynge example of him,  
woulde lyke wyse establishe in their dominions sun-  
drye supreme heades, & that shoulde brede schismes,  
and discentions in the churche of Christ.

**Ma<sup>s</sup>.** Oh what an assehead was he, if euer he would  
assent hereunto:

**Lepi Assent:** Yea, and praise him also, euen as though  
it had bene a thyng deuised by god hymselfe, and sent  
to hym from God. When they came to the very dis-  
putacion, theemperour had a plentifull oracion, where  
in he exhorted all them, that came thether to intreat  
vpon that matter, to peace, con corde, and vnitie. And  
when it came to the Popes course to speake, bycause  
he woulde kepe hys state, he commaunded master  
Hypocryt to speake in hys name, and he so handled  
hymselfe with conterfetyd wordes, and gesture, and  
went aboute wyth suche a force of eloquence to per-  
suade them, that the Popes holynes was not mo-  
ued of hym selfe to accept so hyghe a state, but rather  
earnestly withstode it, and yet hauinge an eye to the  
glory



The embas-  
sador of Co-  
stantinople  
his reasons.

glozye of God, and folowynge the mouynge of the  
holy gost, at length he toke this heuy & sharpe crosse  
of the popship vpon him, thys I saye he perswaded in  
suche sorte, that he had almoste made me beleue it  
was trewe, & he sayed. And so I my sel fe did many  
times assent to him in & he sayd, that if he could with  
a saufe conscience leaue thys hyghe authorytye, he  
bothe redely, and gladlye woulde so doe. But that  
myght not bee, because by that meanes he shoulde  
doe God great iniurye. But seynge the matter was  
so, he was ryght glad that there was at thys present  
a disputacion appoynted of so greate and weyghtie  
a matter, whereby the truethe there of myghte bee  
knownen to all menne. And thus at last beganne  
the disputacion: Where first arose the embassador of  
Constantinople, a very wyse manne, and with a loud  
voyce sayed befoze the greate audience there assem-  
bled, that all the churches of the vniuersall worlde  
were highlye offended with thys wonderfull and  
wickyd primacie of the Byshop of Rome, whyche ne-  
uer was herd of befoze. And that Chyste hymselfe  
was the true and onely head of hys churche in thys  
militant exile: euen as he is also the head of the tri-  
umphant churche of the heauenlye Hierusalem, and  
that he neuer ordayned any other head. Wherefoze it  
was to be thought & this wicked innouacion was not  
of God, and in case it were orderyned of god, yet could  
not this supreme honoz belog to & bishoppe of Rome.  
Therfoze was it not onely a diuise of man but wic-  
ked also, and wrongfull, and therfoze all together de-  
uelishe and not to bee suffered. Not a thinge ordery-  
ned of god, as all myght perceaue, that haue any iud-  
gement, and so false it was that there coulde be anye  
one

one worde founde in all scripture for the defense of  
this primacie, that there be a number of sayings di-  
rectly agaynste it. Then arose master falsidicus, and  
interrupting the Embassadoz in his matter spake af-  
ter this sorte for the popes defense. Nay in holy scrip-  
ture there is not one worde contrary, but many thin-  
ges be there, which make for it. fyrst and for most ye  
knowe right well that Chyiste sated to Peter. Thou  
arte Peter, & vpon this rocke wil I buyld my church.  
Nowe if Peter were made the trewe and only foun-  
dacion, not of thys or that particuler churche, but of  
the whole vniuersall churche of Chyiste, by thasente  
and apoyntment of Chyist, it must of force be grante-  
ted, that the churche was susteyned and gouerned by  
Peter, whyles he lyued here in earthe, and so was he  
the vniuersall heade of the churche, as after him Pe-  
ters successors were, and be the trewe heades of the  
churche. Hereunto Chimbassadoz made answer. Yf  
ye fall a gestinge in an earnest matter, it is not to bee  
comended in matters of importance. But if ye speake  
as ye thinke, I maruaile muche that ye bee ignorant.  
Is it possible ye should be in such an heresie, to thinke  
Peter was the heade and foundacion of the churche  
of Chyiste, that is to saye, of all the faythefull. Truly  
if it were so, the churche of Chyiste in tymes paste  
should haue had a very feble and weeke foundacion,  
and many tymes shoulde it haue fallen by reason of  
the feblenes of so slender a grounde. And agayne it  
is an extreme wickednes and playne ydolatry to at-  
tribute that to Peter, whiche apperteyneth onely to  
Chyiste. Chyist is onely that proued corner, excellent,  
fuer and stable stone, which accordinge to the pro-  
phesie of Daniell shall breake all the kingedomes of  
the



Dani. i.  
Esa. xlviii.  
Psal. cxviii.

Mat. xxi.

1 Phe. ii.

1 Peter. ii.

1 Cor. iii. b.  
Math. xvi. c.

Math. xvi. c

Mat. viii. d  
Luc. ix. c.  
John. vi. g  
1 Co. x. a

the world, and it selfe shall indure for ever a stable & stronge foundation of the kingdome, and congrega-  
cion of Chryste. Which thyng is confirmed not on-  
ly by the testimonie of Daniell, but of Esay also, and  
of Dauid, and by thautoritie of Christ himselfe. And  
Paule Thapostle teacheth also þe same very doctrine,  
when he saiethe, that we muste bee reysed vp in thys  
holy buylding of the church, not vpon Peter, but vpon  
Christe, the moste stronge foundacion of the pro-  
phetes, and of thapostles. The selfe same doctrine is  
stablist. ed, and confirmed by the wittnes of Peter.  
And because that a number of light fellowes might  
chaunce to stumble at this stone, in so much that they  
shoulde thinke Christe, during the tyme of hys beinge  
in earth, was the foundation of hys church, but whē  
he was once lifted vp into heauen, he lefte Peter in  
his stede: Paule thapostle, and moste faythfull inter-  
preter of gods heuenly will, teacheth the contrary in  
especiall wordes. When he sayeth: There can none o-  
ther foundacion be layed for the church of Christ be-  
sides, that is already layd, that is to saye Christ. And  
if Christe must alway be the trewe and only founda-  
cion of his church, it must nedes be confessed, that ne-  
uer was, or els ever shalbee any other foundacion of  
the church of Christe, and therfore none other trewe  
and vniuersall heade. Nowe when Peter had profes-  
sed the very trewe confession of Christe, that he was  
the sonne of god, and Christe had sayed to hym, thou  
arte Peter, and vpon thys Rocke I wyll buylde  
my church: he shewed, and declared him selfe, to bee  
the liuely Rocke, & strong foundacion of hys church,  
by the meanes whereof he began to bee called Pe-  
ter, whereas before he was called Symon, and all  
was by the reason of his confession, and of the reue-  
lacion

lacion of the heavenly father, that he cleued by faith  
to Chyſte the ſtrongelt rocke, and foundation of hys  
churche. The ſelfe ſame thinge happeneth to al thoſe,  
that beleue truly in Chyſt which happened to Peter.  
For they are bleſſed, and haue everlaſtyng lyfe, as  
Chyſt him ſelfe doeth witnes, and they maye be cal-  
led Peters, becauſe by the helpe of lyuely fayth they  
cleue to the lyuely and vnbchangeable rocke, which is  
Chyſte, euen as Chyſtian menne haue theyr name  
of Chyſte, and agaynſte them, that beleue of ſuche a  
ſorte, the very gates of hell ſhall not preuaile. Where  
it is to bee noted that gates were wont to bee ex-  
dunge ſtrong, and ſuerly defended, in the which gates  
iudgement in tymes paſte was wont to be exerciſed,  
and therfore when oure ſauour Chyſte nameth the  
gates of hell, he vnderſtandeth the power, and wiſe-  
dome of hys aduerſaries, or els trewely he vnder-  
ſtandeth ſinne, whereby, as it were by gates, men en-  
ter in to hell, as though he had ſayed, all the power,  
ſutteltie, falſe doctrine, thretninges, and flatteringes  
of the worlde, furniſhed with theyr hel, and paradise  
ſhall not preuaile agaynſte hys churche. And that  
Chyſte, by this rocke, wherebpon he ſayed he would  
buyld hys churche, did vnderſtande, and meane him-  
ſelfe. S. Auſten doeth wryte in an homely whiche he  
hathe wrytten vpon thys place, where he ſaith. If  
Chyſte woulde haue layed the foundaicon of hys  
churche vpon Peter, trewely he woulde haue ſayed:  
Thou arte Peter, and vpon the wyll I buyld my  
churche. Althoughe Chyſoſtome, and Theophilact  
doe expounde thys place as though Chyſte woulde  
haue the ſound profeſſion, a ſounde faith in Chyſte  
to be vnderſtanded by thys worde rocke.

¶ ii.

which

l. par. xviii.  
¶ a. i. h. c.



Gal. ii. b.

Whiche sayth maye bee called vniuersall this daye the foundation of the church of Christe, forasmuche as the congregacion of the chosen cleueth to Christ, the chief and true foundation of this church by faythe. Nowe then because Christe is alwaye the true and onely foundation of his church, and also that faythe is the thyng whereby we bee ioyned to Christe, we must of necessitie graunt that it is as false as God is true that some menue say: That Peter or some other Byschoppe of Rome is the foundation of the church of christendome. Paule writynge to the Galathians, sayth not that Peter was the foundacion of the church of Christ, but calleth hym a pillar, as he calleth also James and John makynge hym equall, but not superior. Yf there were euer anye manne that sayed, that Christ layed the foundation of his church vpon Peter, yf they were of right iudgementes, they myndyd to declare nothyng elles but that it was buylded vpon the fayth of Christ, whiche sayth the chosen and electes haue, euen as Peter had.

ms. But my beleue was alwayes that Christ was the only one who ruled, gouerned, and susteyned his church, netther canne I perswade to my selfe the contrarye. But that same master falsidicus as farre as I perceyue doeth fantasie that Christe gonerned and susteyned his church for a season, and afterward intending to ascend into heauen, because he coulde not be at the selfe same tyme in heauen, and also susteyne and gouerne his congregacion, as though it had bene one tyred with rulyng and laboringe, left Peter in his place, and so after the all the Bishops of Rome in ordinary succession. Nowe best yf men, and not Christ were the foundacion of the church of christendome, whiche

whiche dyd susteyne, and beare thesame, trowe it  
shoulde haue weake and verpe feble pillars to leane  
vpon, and so feble, that it woulde not once, but more  
then a thousand tymes haue ben ouerthrowen, name-  
ly because this thing is without controuersie. When  
the Byshope of Rome is dead, there is not by and by  
another chosen in his roune, but some dayes at the  
least come betwen, wherin the church of Christ shoulde  
lacke a head, though he it neuer lacked one at any tyme  
elles. Nowe maye you perceyue whether the church  
were then destroyed or not. And this dare I boldlye  
saye, yf the church of Christ shoulde leane vpon men  
after thys sorte, as vpon the foundation, hell gates  
had preuayled agaynst it longe before thys tyme.

Furthermore, yf we were grounded vpon men, and  
shoulde trust to them as to oure grounde worke, and  
foundation, we shoulde be all accursed, accordyng to  
the sayng: Cursed be that manne whiche putteth hys  
trust in manne. And then shoulde not our church be  
the church of Christ, but the Synagoge of Satan,  
and Peter shoulde haue erred exceedingly, Christ  
beyng lyfted vp in to the highe place of heuen, and he  
lefte for the foundation of the church in earthe, in  
he exhorteth Christian men not to buylde vpon hym,  
but vpon Christe the true and suer foundation, and  
grounde worke of his church. And this also is very  
true. Euen as Christ dyd not onely aske Peter: but  
all the rest of the Apostles with him, when he sayed:  
but whom saye you that I am? So also Peter made  
aunswere in the name of all the Apostles, or els they  
al being demaunded, shoulde euery one haue answered  
for theselues. But there was muche communicacion  
amongest the at sundry tymes before, & they al cōfessed

Iere. ii.

mat. xvi. c.

marc. vii. d

Luc. ix. c.

Iohn. vi. g.

¶.iii

with



John. vi.

1. Cor. i.

Math. xxi.

with one accorde, that he was the sonne of God, al-  
though Judas with a lyvely saythe beleued not  
so. And Christ at another time asked al his Apostles,  
wyl you also depart. Peter onely in the name of the  
reste made aunswere: Thou hast the wordes of eter-  
nall life. & hiche thing is euident of the wordes, that  
folowe, to whom shal we goe: we knewe & beleued,  
longe ago, that thou art Christ the very sonne of the  
liuing God. Of a lyke sort he aunswere in the name  
of them all, when he spake these wordes: Thou art  
Christe the sonne of God. And because Peter in the  
name of them all confessed Christe to be the sonne of  
god: ye must graunt that when Christ sayd: Thou art  
Peter, and vpon thys rocke will I buyld my church:  
that he spake not onely to Peter, but to them all, al-  
though it were in the name of Peter. As though he  
had sayed Peter onely is not the liuely rocke, but all  
suche, as folowinge hys example verely beleue, and  
confesse Christ to be the sonne God, be liuely rockes,  
which be buylded vpon the vnchaungeable & precious  
corner stone Christ the only foundation of his church.  
But I praye you tell me in good earnest, what sayed  
master falsidicus to such thiges as were objected:  
Lepi. Would ye know sayed he how Christ minded  
by these wordes to make Peter the foundation, and  
head of his church: Reade the wordes, that folow, &  
ye shal perceyue, that he spake to Peter, whē he sayd:  
To thee wyl I gyue the keyes of the kyngdome of  
heauen. And whatsoeuer thou shalt bynde in yearth it  
shall also be bound in heauen: and whatsoeuer thou  
loosest in yearth, it shall be loosed in heauen. Yt is  
not to be thought but that Christ being most true of  
hys promise performed most haboudantly &, what-  
soeuer

foer he promysed Peter.

And so muste it bee graunted, that the keyes of the kingdome of heauen were deliuered to Peter, & therfore hath he power to open, and to shut by heauen, to whome so ener it shall please hym, and to bringe in, and dryue out, whome he shal thinke mete, as he will him selfe, so may he lose also, and bynde. And forasmuche as by the wordes of Christe Peter only had thauthoritie to loose, & binde, to open, and shut heuen, it foloweth that Christ gaue authoritie ful, and whole to Peter, and ordeyned him onely to bee head of hys church.

M<sup>as</sup>. Yf onely Peter, and the byshoppes of Rome haue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and they only haue power to open the same, forsothe I would not dye, when the sea of Rome is vacant, and boyd of a byshop. for then shoulde there bee no body, whiche shoulde open heauen gates to me. And I maruaile more ouer of whome they gatte the keyes of purgatory, for it apereth by theyr own confession, that Christ gaue hym none other keyes, but of the kyngdom of heauen onely. But I coulde haue choked hym, even with one worde.

Lepi. Howe?

M<sup>as</sup>. Thus would I haue sayed. Theemperours porter hathe the keye of theemperour hys court, and hathe authoritie to open and shut: and the Mayor of a citie hathe authoritie to bynde and loose, and yet neither of them bothe is theemperour. Of a like sorte, be it that Peter had the keyes, & authoritie to binde and lose: it followeth not therfore that he is the head, and lord of the church of god, that he is equall with Christe, or elles at leste his vicar of equall authoritie  
by



by whome our faythe may be stable and suer, that he  
is the vniuersal iudge of all controuersies, whiche  
arise in holie scripture. But tell me thys one thyng,  
what answere made the embassadour of Constanti-  
nople to thys thyng?

*Lezidas.* fyrste he answered, that Christ gaue not  
the keyes euen then to Peter, but promysed them on-  
ly, not doutinge but that Christ kept promes with  
him. But he was desirous to know of master falsi-  
dicus, the time when he deliuered the keyes to Peter,  
and gaue him thauthoritie to louse & to bind, & what  
wordes he sayed when he gaue them: for by that  
meanes the trueth might appere, what was ment by  
these keyes, and what is thys authoritie? To thys  
master falsidicus made answer: That he assured  
Peter of them, when after hys resurrection he asked  
Peter, whether he loued hym more earnestly then the  
rest dyd or not: vnto whome Peter made answer,  
sayinge. Thou knowest O Lord that I loue the, then  
Christ gaue him iniunction to feede his shepe. In the  
very selfe same houre he made him the chiefe shepard  
and bishop of al soules. The embassadour of Con-  
stantinople smylinge sayed: yf preachinge the worde  
of God be the feedinge of soules, (as the holy doctors  
with one assent doeth expound it, it is with out dout  
that that office was not onelye gyuen to Peter, but  
also to al the rest of thapostles, and namely to Paule,  
who wyreth in special wordes, that he labored more  
then all the rest did in the ministry of preaching. Yea  
and Christe himselfe before he spake these wordes to  
Peter, commaunded the selfe same thyng to all the  
Apostles sayinge: goe ye throughe out the vniuersall  
worlde, and preache the Gospel to all creatures. So  
that

that it can not be sayed that the office of preachynge  
was gyuen by Chyste onely, to Peter, and to the By  
shoppes of Rome in ordinary succession after him, by  
whose appoyntment it shoulde also descend to other.  
For then must it be graunted that there hath bene ve  
ry fewe lawefull and trewe Byshoppes, whiche had  
lawefull authoritie to preache, and so fewe that Pe  
ter onely maye bee accountyd the trewe Byshoppe,  
whiche preached lawefully, and a fewe besides, who  
were by him appoynted in such countreyes where as  
he preached. By thys meanes Paule and the ellenen  
Apostles, and suche as were by them conuerted to  
the faythe, neither were truely bishoppes, neither yet  
preached lawefullye, because they neither had their  
Bishoprike, neither authoritie to preache of Peter.  
And more ouer none after the death of Peter should  
haue bene made Bishop, neither haue licence to prea  
che besydes the Byshoppe of Rome. And truely the  
Byshoppes of Rome, haue committed a greuous of  
fence in that they haue hyd this large and greate au  
thoritye of theyrs, that they had so necessarye in the  
churche of God. Then replied master falsidicus, euen  
as Peter (quod he) loued Chyst more earnestly then  
the rest of the Apostles, as it is plaine by the wordes  
of his aunswere, when Chyste demaunded him whe  
ther he loued hym more feruentlye then the rest dyd:  
so had he more authoritie gyuen vnto hym ouer the  
shepe of Chyst, then the rest of the Apostles. To this  
answered thimba Tador of Costantinoble. And where  
I praye you haue you founde that Peters aunswere  
was to Chyst, that he was more earnestly beloued of  
him then of the rest of p Apostles. Not withstanding  
that he was so demaunded, yet hys aunswere was



enely in thys wyse. Thou knowest O lorde that thou  
art belouyd of me. He sayed not: Thou knowest O  
Lorde that thou art more feruentlye belouyd of me  
then of the rest. For so coulde he neuer haue sayed  
without greate suspicion of arrogancie, because it  
was vnknowen to hym how much y<sup>e</sup> rest loued Christ.  
But let it be graunted that Christ was more earnestly  
beloued of Peter then of the rest: doeth it therefore  
folowe, that Christ gaue him more power: Or in case  
he gaue hym more was it therfore most of all: For it  
is not all one thing to saye fede my shepe, and to saye,  
be thou head of my churche, or elles: Take thou more  
authoritie then the other Apostles. And as for that  
Christe demaundyd of him thys, whether he loued  
hym or not: it was done for thys ende and purpose,  
that hys loue bringe declared by thys confesseynge,  
myght counteruayle and somewhat make amendes  
for his fault. Whē he thys denied him, he minded to  
haue Peters loue sealed, (as it were) & warranted  
before he would commit vnto him the cure of soules,  
that all menne myghte knowe no man can bee a good  
shephard onles he loue Christ earnestly. Furthermore  
yf your reason were a good reason, it shoulde rather  
folowe therof that Christe declared John the chiefe  
Byshop then Peter. For it is written of John, this is  
the disciple whom Christ loued. Wherfore if he were  
beloued of Christ aboue other, he gaue vnto him more  
worthy gyses, & replenished him more aboundant-  
ly with grace, and therfore placed hym aboue the o-  
ther, and namelye for that he was more mete for the  
purpose by the reason of the excellent gyses, whiche  
he receiued at Goddes handes. And so much the more  
bycause it shoulde rather appeare, that John loued  
Christ

Christ more then the other did, & was loned againe of Christ, & knew hi more thoro wly, & therfore more like to be iudged worthye to feed the shepe of Christe.

Yt may be proued that Christ would haue ordeined hym the vniuersall shepard, not onely by reason of the noble light of the heuenly spirit, wherewith he was indued, and was alwayes nigh and familiare to Christe, and amongst all the rest of thapostles he alone folowed him to the crosse: but chiefly for thys cause, that when he was vpon the crosse he committed his mother vnto him, in whome only (as you your selues doe confesse) the lyueiy church of Christe remayned after Christes death. For al thapostles were not a litle afrayed, and dismayd with that terryble & dolefull sight of Christes death vpon the crosse, accordingly as Christe had told hym before. And if John were not ordeyned the supreme head of the church of Christe, then muche lesse was Peter. Then sayed master falsidicus will ye see howe Christe ordeyned onely Peter to be the chiefe Pastor of all: Reade the Gospel of Luke and there shal ye fynde spoken onely to Peter: Thou shalt be a fisher of menne, Thereunto answered thimbassadour. And will you see how Christe ordeyned not Peter to bee the chiefe Pastor of all: Reade the Gospell of Mathewe, and Marke, and there shal ye finde the same spoken also of Christ to Andrew, and the two sonnes of zebedei. Wherfore it foloweth that Peter onely was not assigned of Christ to be the fisher of men. Yea and consequently not alone of his owne shepe. Christ neuer sayed to Peter onely fede thou my shepe, be thou onely a fisher of menne. To the onely will I gyue the keyes of the kingedome of heauen. No, he neuer saied so much as this

Luce. x.

L. ii.



The keyes  
were not ge-  
uen onely to  
Peter.

this: be thou onely a shepard and a fyther aboue the  
reste of thapostles. Take thou more authoritie then  
they haue. But he sayed in simple and plaine woꝝdes,  
I will gyue vnto thee the keyes of the kyngdome of  
heauē, and so he kept promes. MARY he gaue the same  
keyes also to the reste of thapostles. And that this is  
trew it is euident. For Chyste gaue the keyes to Pe-  
ter and to the reste of thapostles after his resurrecti-  
on from deathe, standynge in the myddest of them,  
when he had saluted them and shewed hys handes  
and hys syde that they should both see and know him  
that talked with them and deliuered them the keyes  
to be in dede very Chyste the sonne of god, he sayed  
vnto them as John wyrteth. Euen as my father sent  
me, so I send you. As though he had sayd: my father  
sent me in to thys worlde that I shoulde preache the  
gospel, as Esay the prophet saied longe agoe. Ther-  
fore do I send you euen of the same fashion throughe  
out the worlde to preache thys glad tidinges, that  
I am nayled vpon the crosse, and dead for the synnes  
of the whole worlde: that I am the onely and ever-  
lastynge redempcyon, and reconciler, who haue pur-  
chased the fauour of the eternall father to all manne  
kynde by the prynceransome of my bloude, and that  
al the synnes of al the menne in the worlde be pard-  
oned and blotted out for my sake. The selfe same sen-  
tence Marke expressed, albeit it wer in other woꝝdes  
when he sheweth how Chyste after his resurrection  
from death saied to his Apostles going throughe out  
the vniuersall worlde, preache the gospel to all crea-  
tures. And Mathewe. Goe for he, teache al people.  
Lucas wyrteth that Chyste sayed: it is wrytten, and  
therfore it must bee that Chyste shall suffer, and rise  
agayne

Mat. xvi.

Mat. xxvi.  
Luc. xxiii.

agayne from deathe the thyrde daye: in whose name  
repentaunce and remission of synnes must bee prea-  
ched to al people beginning at Hierusalē. It is plain  
that the Euangelistes agre hetherto. John further-  
more doeth adde that Chyste sayed vnto them, take  
ye the holy goste. Which thing Luke declareth after  
another sorte, saying: that Chist opened theyr myn-  
des that they might vnderstād the scriptures, which  
is the very trewe office of the holy goste, wherefore  
he gaue them the holy gost, brynging vpon them, that  
is (as Luke doeth declare) he opened theyr myndes  
and knowledg that they might vnderstande the ho-  
ly scriptures, and that was so done that they myght  
knowe, and perceaue, that the Gospell, whiche they  
shoulde preache, was no bayne or newe thyng, but  
trewe and of antiquitie, spoken of before by the vn-  
fayned sayinges of the prophetes. Which thing they Rom. i.  
beleuinge vndoutedly, throughe an earnest styringe  
and motion of the holy gost, shoulde preache the gos-  
pell throughe out the whole world. Now afterwarde  
when he gaue them the keyes, John writeth that he  
sayed: whose synnes so euer ye forgeue, they bee for-  
geuen them, and whose synnes so euer ye retaine they  
be retayned. That is to say: I deliuer you the keyes  
of the kingdome of heauen, and giue you authoritye  
and power to open and shut thesame, by the kingdom  
of heauen he vnderstandeth the kyngdome of grace,  
and the kyngdome of glozve. The synnefull manne  
was driven out of the kingdome of the heauenly fa-  
uour, neither can he fynde any meanes or wayes to Rom. iiii.  
entre into thesame agayne but by faithe. Accordinge  
to the doctrine of paule. He can not beleue of the com-  
mon sorte onles he heare the worde of the gospell, Rom. x.  
whiche can not be without preaching. So that there  
L.iii. was



was authoritie geuen vnto thapostles, and keyes deliuered vnto the, that they should open the kingdome of heauen to the wicked, when Christ gaue them authoritie to preache the gospel, that is to saie to teach that men be saued by Christ. Because that when they were sinners, and without the kingdome of the grace of Christe, neyther had any waye opened whereby they might entre: thapostles in preachinge the gospel opened the gate of the fauour and grace of god vnto them, which guided them in a ready and plaine waye, wherby they might obteyne to them selues the fauor of god by beleuing that Christ died for them, by whose mean and helpe they are saued, thapostles did moue, and styre men to giue credit to this truthe. And suche of them as beleued, entred in the kyngdome of Christe by fayth, and the Apostles opened the gate vnto the by preaching the word of the gospel, & did set open the waye for their entrie. But if a hearers of this preachig beleued not: thapostles dyd shut the gate of gods fauor, whē they taught in their preachinge, that onles they beleued the gospel there was no hope of saluacion, neither any other way or meanes, wherby they mought entre the kingdome of the fauor of god: Not withstandinge they had done as many good workes, as bee in the whole worlde. And so is this opening and shutting, (as a man may call it) a lousing and a bindinge, as Christe declared when he sated to Peter, to the wil I giue the keyes of the kingdome of heuen. What soeuer thou shalt bind in earth, shalbe bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer thou lousest in earth it shalbe also loused in heauē. Now these keyes, and power to open and shut, to loose and bynd were geue to the Apostles, whē Christ said vnto the, whose synnes ye forgiue, they shall bee forgiuen, and  
whose

whose synnes, ye retayne they shall bee retayned.

Not that the Apostles themselves should haue power, and authoritie to pardon, and forgive sinne, for that belongeth to God alone. And that shoulde be a wonderful ydolatry and blasphemy to attribute and assigne that thyng to man, whiche belongeth to god onely. Who is onely he, that forgyueth synnes for Chrystes sake, even as it is onely he, whiche powreth fayth into vs, and men be hys seruantes and ministers, in that they preache the gospel and moue men to beleue. But the beleuinge it selfe, and the faythe it selfe, and the remission of synne, whiche is by it procured, is the gift of God. Then the Apostles had no power to remitte and retayne synnes at their owne wyll and pleasure. Neither to loose and bynde, neyther yet to brynge manne in or out of the kyngdome of God, when they willed so to doe: but they had power to preache the gospel, and to shewe that thys preachynge must be beleued, and that thys gospel must be embraced with a sound faythe, yf they intend to haue forgyuenes of synnes at goddes handes, and so to be loosed, & to enter into the kingdom of grace. For they onely haue their synnes forgyuen the, which beleue the gospel: they onely be loosed and enter in to the kyngdome of god. They had also authoritie to declare, that their synnes were retayned, whiche beleued not the gospel, and that they onely bee bounde and shut out of the kyngdome of God. It is euident and playne by Saynct Luke, that thys is the wil and mynde of Chyste, who declareth the selfesame sentence with more playne wordes saying: Chyst sayed to his Apostles & Chyst must dey, as it was writtē, & ryse agayne the thirde daye from death, and that repentance and remission of sinne must be preached to

all

Eph. ii.

Luc. xxi.



all nacions in hys name. So that by thys it is easie to be perceyued, that Christe gaue hys Apostles keyes and power, not properly to forgyue synne, but to preache remission of synnes to all them that beleue throughe Christ. The selfe same thyng maye also be confirmed by the authoritie of Saynct Marke: who expounding the same sentence (although it be in other wordes) sayeth: that Christe sayed to his Apostles. Goe throughe out the whole worlde and preache the gospel to all creatures: who so beleueth and is baptised shalbe saued: and he that beleueth not shall be dampned. Whereby it maye be well perceyued, that the authoritie & power which Christ gaue vnto hys Apostles, was not to saue and condempne: but onely to preache the gospel, and to shewe the waye of saluacion, in that they moued me to enter into that way, and they declared hym to be within the compasse of condempnacion which gaue no credit to the gospel, and went about to disuade men from thys vnbelefe. These be the keyes: thys is the power whiche Christ gaue to hys Apostles, and not onely to his Apostles, but also vnto all their successors. Which thyng doeth evidently appeare by the wordes of Christ, when he sayeth to his Apostles. That whiche I saye to you, I saye to all. Neither semeth it any thing lykely, that he spake that thyng whiche he taught, to them only: but to all. Cruelye thys is certayne as Saynct Hierome wrot vpon thys sayng. (To the I will gyue the keyes of the heauenly kyngdome). That y<sup>e</sup> bishops & priestes haue thought hitherto, by the reason of their pryde, and pharisaical arrogancie, that they had power to condempne the gyltles, and to deliuer the gyltles. But cruelye they bee deceyued all ouer the fielde,  
Because

Because that the question is not before God of the  
iudgement of the priest: but of the life of the sinner.  
Wherby he playnlye declareth, that the choyse of  
binding and loosinge is not left in the libertie of the  
priest, but in the sinner, who is comaunded to beleue.  
The minister of Gods word doeth not absolue, but he  
publisheth & declareth man to be absolved: & likewise  
he declareth man to be bound and condempned onles  
he beleue. Euen as þe scepter royal signifieth a kinges  
power, and the swerde the empire: So likewise doth  
the keyes betoken the spirituall gouernaunce of the  
kingdome of god. For whosoener he be that preache  
the gospell, be it whosoener ye will: in that he prea-  
cheth, he doeth all that lyeth in him to open the king-  
dome of heauē to the hearers, whether it be openly or  
priuatly that he preache to one or to many. More o-  
uer he delyuereth all the beleuers, he forgiueth all  
theyr synnes, he saueth them, and bringeth them in-  
to the kingdome of God, when he teacheth that they  
be fre by faythe, and because they beleue, that theyr  
synnes bee forgiven them they bee saued, and in the  
kingdome of Chryste. Agayne on the other syde, he  
byndeth al them, which beleue not, he retayneth their  
synnes, he condempneth them, and shutteth them out  
of the kingdome of heauen, when he teacheth them  
that they are bound, that they remaine in theyr sinne,  
that they be dampned, and shut out of the kingdome  
of grace by the reason of theyr vnbelefe. But thys  
thing is worthe to be noted þe there is two kinge-  
domes of Chryste in earthe, whereof the one is spiri-  
tuall, and canne not bee seen, wherein dwell onely the  
godly and righteous men: and another, that is much  
greater, wherein abyde not onely the good, but also

M.i.

all



all other, that bee Baptized, whiche will seme to bee christians. Neyther were the keyes of bothe these kingdomes deliuered onely to Peter, but also to all the rest of thapostles, and by them to the successours of thapostles, that the ministers of the worde of god might not onely shut, and open the fyrste kingdome (as it is befoze declared) but also the second. For they maye suspende, and excommunicate synners openly, when they amende not, after suche order as Chyste hath appoynted, and so shut them out of the seconde kingdome, and bannishe them the company of other christians. They maye also loose, when they shewe for the tokens of penauince, that is to say, they maye declare in the christian congregacion, that they be fre, euen as befoze they declared them to bee bound: & by that meanes open vnto them the seconde kyngdome, and graunte vnto them the libertie to dwel and abyde in the company of other christians, & with them to receaue the holy Sacramentes. Then were these the keyes & thys the authoritie, that Chyst spake of, when he sayd to his apostles, what so euer ye shal bynde in earth it shal be bounde in heauen, and what soeuer ye shal loose in earth it shal be loosed also in heauen. The ministers also of the churche of Chyste may, and ought to enioyne penauince to suche, as bee excommunicated at such time, as they conuerte and repent, that they maye openly shewe tokens of a penitente harte, not that they maye thynke thereby to satisfy & make a sufficient recompense for theyr offences in the sight of God, for y<sup>e</sup> which Chyst hath suffered long agoe y<sup>e</sup> neither they theselues, neither other folowing their example should any more committe the lyke offences, neither should withstand the correction of the churche and of the ministers. But as touchynge the  
signes

Mat. xvi.  
aut. xviii.  
John. xx. c

signes that bee vnknown and secret: the ministers  
ought not scrupulously to inquire for þ knowleage of  
them. Neuerthelesse the manne, that is troubled with  
thys kynde of synnes, and comynge to a sobre and  
learned minister in christiā knowleage, telling him of  
the trouble of hys conscience, and requirynge of hym,  
what were best for him to doe, wherby to be restored  
agayne to goddes mercye. Then shall thys Physician  
preache to the soule so repentaunt the gospel, and  
moue him to beleue that Christ is he who hath satisfi-  
ed for hys synnes, & also for the synnes of the whole  
worlde. Whiche thynge when the sinner beleueth, im-  
mediatly the minister of goddes worde openeth vn-  
to him the kyngdome of heauen, and beareth witnes  
that hys synnes be nowe forgyuen hym, and also the  
sinner so repentaunt may make a reherfall and a con-  
fession of hys fayth before the sayd learned minister,  
and maye demaunde of hym whether that bee a true  
and liuely fayth, which shall suffice to saluacion. Then  
shall thys minister open vnto hym the whole doctrine  
of Christes fayth, and so induce him to the true fayth,  
and shewe him the waye wherby he maye attayne to  
the right fayth, and remayne therein increasing conti-  
nually. Then shall the minister open vnto hym reme-  
dies mete for hym wherby he may preserve himselfe  
safe and vnsported from suche greuousse offences as  
he perceyueth hym most enclined vnto. And who so  
hath a true faythe, goeth streyght wayes to Christe  
with the Samaritane, to render present thanks in  
hys presence. But who so hath not that fayth, he shall  
alwayes be a wicked manne and an infidell though  
he confesse hymselfe euery daye a thousand tymes.

Thys is the power, whiche Christ gaue not onely to

M.ii.

Peter

Esa. liii. c  
Roma. iii. c  
1 Iohn. ii. a



**Math. ix. c** Peter, but to all the Apostles of hys church, that is  
**Mat. xxiii. b. c** to saye, to preache the gospell, to declare the remissi-  
**Marc. xvi. f.** on of sinnes to all them, that beleue, and to holde in  
**Mat. xviii. b** synne suche, as beleue not, to minister the sacramen-  
 tes according to the word of god, & Christes instituci-  
 on, and to punishe them, that offende openly, and will  
 not repent, when they be entreated after suche a sort,  
 as Christ hath appoynted. That is, first that they be  
 excommunicat, and then, yf they amend, to be receyued  
 agayne into the christian congregacion. This power  
 being gyuen by Christ vnto his church is not exten-  
**math. xvi. c.** dyd but to them onely, whiche be in thys lyfe, whyles  
**and. xviii. b.** they liue here. And therfore sayed Christ, whatsoeuer  
**John. xx. c.** ye shall bynde, or whatsoeuer ye shall loose (not indif-  
 ferently in all places, but in earth) shall be bounde and  
 loosid. Wherfore it is true that the church militant  
 hath no power vpon the, that be passed out of this lif,  
 and rest in the lorde. Neither gaue he any authoritie  
 to the church militant, to gyue pardons a pena et  
 culpa, neither to ordayne newe kyndes of worship-  
 pinges, neither to deuise newe doctrines, or to make  
 newe articles of the faythe, or to deuise newe com-  
 maundementes, and that vpon such a condicion, that  
 mennes consciences must bee forced & tyed to beleue  
 thesame wicked decrees of menne with a tyrannicall  
 payne, euen to the death, to the sword, to the flame  
 and fire appoinctyd for the transgressors of thesame  
 ordinaunces. Christ sayed to hys Apostles, ye shall be  
 my witnesses not onely in Hierusalem, but also in all  
 Iury and Samaria, euen to the vttermoste partes  
 of the worlde. And it is playne that witnesses muste  
 testifie the treuthe, and neither adde, nor take away  
 from thesame any word, namely when as the church  
 of

**Art. i. ii.**

**Luke. xliii.**

**John. xv.**

of Christ is his spouse, and she must be obedient vnto  
 him, as to her husband, and speake those wordes on-  
 ly, which she heareth of him. For Christ opened to his  
 Apostles, and to the fyrste beginninge of his churche  
 all thynges, that seemed profitable and necessary to  
 thobteyninge of saluacion, wherefore he sayed to his  
 disciples. I haue disclosed all thinges vnto you that  
 I haue receaued of my father. The holy gooste ope-  
 ned theyr myndes, that they myght vnderstande the  
 scriptures, and informed and taught them all suche  
 thynges, as Christe had sayed vnto them. So that it  
 can not be without a very heynouse offence, that any  
 thinge should be added to the doctrine of Christ, and  
 thapostles, and of the fyrste moste pure and sincere  
 churche. Wherefore eyther Christe is a lyar when he  
 sayeth that he taught all: or elles were the apostles  
 wicked, in that they did not put the rest of the articles  
 of our faythe into the Creede, whiche the byshoppes  
 of Rome boaste they could fynd out afterwarde, and  
 that suche articles (as they saie) as be very necessary,  
 besides a greate number of preceptes, whiche they  
 haue inuented. The Euangelistes also shoulde haue  
 ben wicked creatures, to kepe hidde thinges so neces-  
 sary to oure saluacion. But neither were thapostles  
 wycked, neyther Christe a lyar. For bothe Christe  
 taught all thynges necessary, and they deliuered the-  
 same to menne accordinglye. And Christ commaun-  
 ded them precisely that they should teache the people  
 to obserue, and kepe all those thynges, not whiche  
 they dreamed themselves, but whiche he commaun-  
 ded them. Yea and Paule thapostle determined all  
 creatures, not humayne onely, but celestiall also, and  
 angelicall to be accursed, whiche preached any other

Ephe.v.

John.xv.  
 Luke.xxiii.  
 John.xiii.

Mat.xxviii.  
 Mar.xvi.

Gala.i.  
 Iaco.i.

M.iii.

gospell



Luke. xxii. c.

gospel then the gospell of Christ. We be all borne a new by þ word of god, by þ which thing onely, as by a perfect and stronge nourishment, we liue and continue we. Now then when master falsidicus thought the keyes to bee taken out of the popes handes by bnaunswerable reasons, by and by he clapped hys handes vpon hys weapon sayinge. Reade Saynct Luke, and ye shall see howe Christe willethe the disciples to prouide for themselves two swordes. Who makinge aunswere that they had twayne in a readines, Christ sayed they were enoughe. Therfore hath the Pope two swordes, and the highest power vpon both sydes, the one spiritual, the other temporall. Mas Oh what a fyne dialecticall witte was that?

Truelye thys consequence and reason coulde not be aunswered to. Verely I meruayle muche whye they haue not caused thys long tyme Saynct Peter to be paynted with keyes hangynge vpon hys girdle, and holdyng two swordes in hys handes, the one in the ryght, and the other in the left, to declare hys chiefe prerogative, and so to make menne afrayd with that fearefull syght. But tell me I praye you what aunswered the embassadoz to this?

Lepi He aunswered that Christe promised and gaue to Peter, and the Apostles keyes, and not swordes, and that when Peter vsed a sworde for the defence of hys master, Christ hymselfe stayed hys bnaduised rashenes. Bycause the kyngdome of Christe is not of thys worlde, neither is it worldly, and yearthlye: but heauenly, and spirituall. Neither was he sent of his father to reigne in this world of a carnal fashio, as in a kingdom, but he was sent to minister and serue, and to geue hys life for our saluacion. And forasmuche as he

No. cxlii. e

Matt. xx. d

Mat. xxviii.

Mar. x. e

Luc. xxi. b

he sent his Apostles euen of a lyke fashon, as he hym  
 self was sent of his father, he set them not as though  
 they shoulde reygne in the worlde, but to be lyke in-  
 nocent lambes amongst wolues. And to mynde to  
 stablishe one supreme head in the churche of Christe  
 is nothyng els, but a crownyng agayne of Christe  
 with a crowne of thorne, and when he is apparelled  
 with a purple and a kyngly vesture, to deliuer hym to  
 menne to be made a laughing stocke, as he was scor-  
 ned in tymes past of the Jewes, when he honged vpon  
 the crosse. Therfore Christ foreseeing that his Apo-  
 stles would be offended with his death, and woulde  
 slippe from that trust they had in hym (as he prophe-  
 cied to them befoze) he demaunded of them, whether  
 they wated any maner of thing, whē he sent the forth  
 naked and destitute of all mannes helpe. And when  
 they aunswered that they wanted nothyng, he sayed:  
 nowe then prouide you for swordes, as though he  
 had sayed. Hetherto haue I bene your mercifull mas-  
 ter and gouernour, I haue defended you, I haue pro-  
 uided all necessities for you, as for my beloued chyl-  
 dre, ye lacked nothing, I toke the tuition of you. But  
 bycause within thys short space, when ye shall see me  
 caught by the handes of the wicked, and bounde, &  
 in conclusion dye, ye will be offended with that mise-  
 rable syght, and will faynt from that sure trust, that  
 ye haue had in me hetherto, it is nedefull that from  
 hence forth ye prouide for your selues: and therfore I  
 gyue you warninge to prepare ye swordes for youre  
 defence, for the persecution that commeth vpon you  
 shalbe great. And when they shewed two swordes, &  
 sayed master, loe here be two swordes, Christ answe-  
 red them rebukingly with a priue checke, saying they  
 be ynough. Thys was a wonderfull declaracion and  
 figure

Math. x. b  
 Luke. x. a

Mat. xxvi. c.  
 Mar. xiv. d.  
 John. xvi. d

Luc. xxi. c

Math. x. a  
 Marke. vi. a  
 Luc. ix. a

Mat. xxvi. c  
 Mar. xiii. p.  
 John. xvi. d.

Luc. xxi. e



Gene. 9. a  
Ezech. xi. a  
Math. xxi.  
Luke. xxi.  
John. xviii.  
Apoc. xiii.

fygure of the dulnes of the Apostles, and of the clemencie of Christe. Euen as thoughe tender infantess shoulde haue shewed their father two speres made of reedes, and then aske of hym, whether that speres of reede were sufficient to ouercome an excedyng strong armie: vnto whom the father shoulde aunswere with a smilling countenaunce, saying: yea, they be sufficiēt, as though he had sayed: O ye tenderlynges thynke you y<sup>e</sup> speres of reed can preuaile without my helpe. Now is it here euident, first and foremost that Christ gaue not swordes to his Apostles: whereof it foloweth that he gaue them not the supreme power, and authoritie bothe spirituall and temporall, whiche is shadowed (as you holde opiniō) by these two swordes. And more ouer Peter only made not thanswere: Doe here be two swordes, but the disciples, as Luke playnly doeth witnes. Neyther is it red any where that Peter alone had two swordes. And althoughe it were so, that the highest supremacie wher shadowed by these two swordes, yet maye ye not by anye meanes inferre or goe about to proue thereby, that thesame authoritie belonged onely to Peter, but to all thapostles ioyntly: and the whole church together. And yet can I not perceauie howe these reasons hange together. Christe sayed checkingly that two swordes were enough, ergo Peter had the supreme authoritie bothe spirituall, and temporall geuen vnto him. Then would master falsidicus without dout haue made some preaty aunswere, as his fashyon is, yf the Pope had not comaunded hym to holde hys peace, fearinge lest this hatefull dysputacyon of bothe swordes should offend theemperour. Whereof he sayed to falsidicus, that it was sufficient for this present

present to reteyne the one sword, that is to say the  
chiefe dominion in spirituall matters, & to permitte  
the other of temporall matters to Ceasars maiestie.  
Mas. A wonderfull liberalitie.

Lepi. But ye muste knowe, that he graunted thys  
but for a tyme, yea and againste his will. For hys left  
arme is weake and small, because he is not accusto-  
med to vse it, but let hym alone, & suffre his strengthe  
with a litle excercise to come to hym, and yee shall see  
him halt and lame as he is, shed more bloude alone  
then all theemperours of the worlde, though ye put  
thē together. Then master falsidicus fynding other  
matters to talke vpon, sayed. You know ryght well  
master embassadoz that Chryste kepeth promes: and  
if he geue a name to any man at any tyme, that name  
is not a voyde name, it is not the bare sounde of a  
voyce, but the trewth of the thinge it selfe is also a-  
greable to the name. And because Chryste sayed to  
Simon, from henceforthe thou shalt bee called Ce-  
phas, whiche by interpretacion signifieth a head: ye  
muste of necessitie graunt that Chryste gaue in deede  
that, whiche he promysed with speciall and playne  
wordes. Simon was called Cephas, that is to saye  
a heade, then it foloweth that he was a heade by the  
name, that Chryste gaue him, ergo he was a head in  
deede, that the trueth might be agreable to the name.  
To this the embassadoz answered. Truly ye be wor-  
thy to be burned, for yf ye burne them, which depzaue  
the wytynges of thapostles, what ought ye to doe  
to them, which peruerter falsely the wordes of Chryst  
himselke. Chryste sayed to Peter thou shalt be called  
Cephas, and Cephas is a worde of the language of  
the Sirians. Whiche is as muche to saye as Petra

R.i.

that

Mat. xxvi. 2.

Iohn. i. 6



that is a stone. But you deprauinge the holy scriptures, saye that Christe sayed, thou shalt be called a head, & this do you to thende that you would drawe all sentences (as though it were halynge them by the necke) writhing them to your peruerse purpose, and in the meane tyme corrupting the trueth, and the maiestie of holy scriptures.

Mas. I maruaile that he was euer afterwarde called Peter, and not rather heade, if it bee so that thys name Cephas signifie a head, and not Petra, which is a stoone, as master falsidicus did contende. But tell me I praye you was he not ashamed to speake any more?

Lepi. Nay then he seemed but as it were to beginne to proue the primacie of Peter.

Mas. And what thing brought he therfore?

Lepi. First & formost thus he saied. Euen as it is euident by the scriptures of the olde testament that the fyrste begotten, was the Lorde ouer all hys brethren, euen so because it is euident that Peter was the fyrste begotten of Christ, he must be lord ouer all the rest, & supreme head of the whole church of Christ. Which thig may be proued by that, that Peter as the chiefe & molte worthy parson speaketh alwaies first for them all: and amongst the reste he was alwayes accounted, and named the first. Yea be it, that it could not bee proued by anye worde of God, that Peter was declared supreme head by Christ: yet ought we to beleue it, forasmuche as we muste assuredly perswade our selues, that Christe ordeyned his church well, and therefore that it was done by a certayne reason & order, for wher as a certayne order is not obserued, ther must al thinges of force be full of confusion.

And

And certayne order can there none be, where as there  
be not degrees of me higher, and lower. But where  
as there is a higher degree of men, there muste ye as-  
cende and come to one, as to a supreme head, that the  
nature of order maye bee preserved, whiche bycause  
it can not procede so farre, but that it muste haue an  
ende, onles there shoulde be some supreme head esta-  
blished, it shoulde come all together to nothing. Now  
likely it is not, that Christ appoynted any other head  
then Peter: ergo Peter was the supreme head. The  
selfe same thyng maye be proued of the order of na-  
tural thynges, where all thynges be referred to one,  
as to a chiefe beginninge and originall cause. For not  
onely in any ciuile gouernaunce of man (yf the com-  
mon welthes be well ordered) there is one supreme  
head: but amongst brute beastes also we see this  
dignitie of order obserued. Bees haue their kynge,  
who gouerne the baser sorte of the common peo-  
ple, and ouersee them to doe their deuoties. The  
Cranes haue one chief guide. whom all the rest doeth  
folowe. The shepe also haue their shepehard, whose  
boyce they knowe, & whom they folowe, and at whose  
commaundement they be. So that, loke howe muche  
the church of Christ is more excellent, & more perfect,  
then other thynges, that belonge to manne, and is al-  
so better gouerned, so much is it the more lykely, that  
there must be one supreme head in it, at whose com-  
maundement all menne must hange, as though he  
were a God. To these reasons the imbassadoz made  
answere. Yf the first begotten amongst thapostles  
ought to be lord of al the rest (as Iulianus said euē  
nowe) for as muche as Andrew was called before  
Peter to the office of the Apostleshippe, Peter shoulde

John. r.

R. ii.

NOT



not take the lordshippe awaye from hym, whiche of  
 ryght shoulde haue a better tytle to it. But trueth it  
 is, that Christ is the first begotten amongst his bre-  
 thren, & he is onely the lord of all. And all the worthi-  
 nes of the first begettyng, whiche was shadowed in  
 the first begotten of the olde testament, is fulfilled in  
 Christ hymselfe. Nowe bycause that the kyngdome  
 of Christ is altogether spirituall, he maye be accoun-  
 ted greater, higher, and more excellent, not that is  
 first borne to Christe in this worlde, nor he that is ri-  
 cher, or more noble after the flethe, not he that is bet-  
 ter learned: but he that excelleth more in godlynnes, &  
 hath receyued more lighte and strengthe of the holy  
 gost. And although Peter vsed oftē times to choppe  
 in, and speake firste by the reason of his boldnes, hys  
 zeale, hys earnestnes, and age: yet foloweth it not of  
 that, that he had authoritie and dominion ouer the  
 rest of the Apostles, neither that he was their Pope.  
 Neither is he whiche speaketh fyrste in any congre-  
 gacion to be thought the head of all the rest. For then  
 in dede shoulde Peter haue bene Pope not onely be-  
 fore Christe gaue hym the keyes, but also before he  
 promised hym them, bycause that often tymes longe  
 before that tyme, he spake before hys felowes. And  
 Philip also, and Andrew, and Thomas, and the rest  
 shoulde by this reason haue bene Popes, all the which  
 spake first at sundry tymes. And although Christ whē  
 he numbred the Apostles, named Peter first, yet is it  
 not necessary, that therfore he shoulde be Pope ouer  
 the rest. Euen as our Byshop of Constantinople hath  
 spoken first in sundrye counselles that hath bene, and  
 hath also bene taken for the first Byshop, bycause he  
 spake fyrst, and sat first in the congregacion. And yet  
 for

Iohn. vi. xi.  
 and. xiii.

for all that was he neuer iudged Byshop ouer all o-  
ther Byshoppes, neither yet their head, (whiche ye  
challenged to you by tyrannye.) I graunte trewly  
that Christ dyd set in order, and gouerned his church  
wonderfully well, and that it hathe gone forward in  
a wonderfull ordre, so that I can not deny but there  
muste bee some supreme heade in that churche. But  
that heade is Christe hym selfe (as Paule testifieth)  
who by his spirite is present with hys churche euer-  
more, and gouerneth it after a more wonderfull fa-  
shion then mannes vnderstanding can comprehend.  
Neither is it nedefull to dreame of any other vniuer-  
sall heade in earthe, for Christ him selfe without any  
other Popes, gouerneth hys churche by hys mini-  
sters most wonderfully, but let vs graunt that Christ  
declared Peter to be the heade of thapostles and of  
the fyrste churche, at the whiche tyme because they  
were very fewe he might right well gouerne the all.  
But now when the church of Christ is spred abroad  
throughe out the whole worlde, it is not possible for  
him to knowe them all, or to visitt them all, to vnder-  
stande theyr tonges, to heare theyr matters, to pro-  
uide for them all, and gouerne the al well. One crane  
maye well be the guyde to other .xxv. cranes, or elles  
peraduenture fiftie, but me thinket h, that it is a thig  
vnpossible that all the cranes in the world should fol-  
lowe this one crane as theyr onely guyde, yea and be  
it that they all folowed thys one, yet doeth not that  
proue that this one beinge guyde is the heade of all  
the reste. Of a like sorte saye I of the bees, amongst  
whome it maye wel be and is, that one bee, be kinge  
and gouernor of all þ other, that be in the same hyue,  
as a byshoppe maye be the gouerner of all the soules

R.iii.

thac



that be within his diocese. But yet as it can not bee that one bee shoulde gouerne all the bees of the worlde, so neyther canne it bee that one byshoppe of Rome canne haue the cure of all the soules in the worlde.

Mas. Will you haue me say to you, what I thinke. This byshoppe of ours semeth to me a very asse, and without all iudgement and perceueraunce, and thys is my reason, that moueth me so to saye. I haue seen many times, & haue proued by experience the thing, that I shall tell: when one sheparde hathe the charge of a thousand shepe, it is as much, as he is able to do, to fede so many and order the well, but the same sheparde can not keepe syxe or eight thousande, and yet muche lesse, an hundred beasts, and a thousand shepe together, and yet muche lesse a thousande shepe and a thousande beasts, an hundred oxen, an hundred kyne, an hundred asses, & an hundred swyne. But thys bishoppe of oures will be the vniuersall bishop, and shepard of all Christian menne, amongst whom bee founde not only beasts innumerable, but asses also, and kyne, bores, and swyne, and an infinit number of foxes, and wolues. Ye knowe that I am the master of his horse, and am fayne sometyme to spend a whole moneth to tame one fearse beast, or before I canne brynge a mule to her trewe pase. And he will take vpon hym to tame all the whole worlde, and he thinketh to brynge it to passe, that all menne shall walke right the same waye that ledeth to god. But I pray you tell on the disputatio, for in hearing you recite godly their reasons (in the name of god) I am more and more strengthened in the trueth,

Lepi. He broughte more ouer an argument of the chiefe

chiefe prieste of the Jewes, saying: it is plaine, that y  
olde testament is a figure of the newe, nowe then, as  
they by the wyll of god had one chiefe priest aboute all  
other, so the christian men now a daies must haue one  
Pope. And he must be honoured, & set forth with such  
bentie and glozy, that the kinges of the world (as the  
prophetes haue spoken before) shall come to wurship  
this merueylous godhead in earth. And furthermore  
al christiā mē shall come to Rome, as to a spiritual Je-  
rusalem, whiche was shadowed by that earthly Hieru-  
salem, to obteyne saluacion, and receyue heaven at  
the Popes handes. And thē he sayed thus. Nowe me  
thynketh that I haue confirmed, and establishe suf-  
ficiently the Popeshippe with these reasons and au-  
thorities, that I haue al'eged. Wherefore nowe wyll  
I make an ende and gyue place to other: And to con-  
clude of thys, I am sure that the imbassadoz can not  
fynde one word in the holy scripture that maye make  
by any meanes agaynste thys primacie once planted,  
and establisched. Then thimbassadoz made aunswere  
in thys wyse. The Jewes were but fewe in compa-  
rison of the christian men, who yf they were thys day  
compared with them, they should appeare innume-  
rable. And agayne, they were all knyght, and ioyned to-  
gether in one narrowe place, but the christian menne  
thys day be despersed thzough out the whole world.  
Wherefore that thynge, whiche accoꝝding to the wyll  
of God was mete for them then, (that is to say, that  
they shoulde haue one chiefe prieste in earthe) can not  
agree nowe with vs of these dayes. Moreover the  
highe priesthode of the Jewes shadowed not the  
highe priesthode of the Byschops of Rome: but the  
high priesthod of Christ. Wherefore that highe priest-  
hod of the Jewes after a certayne tyme had an ende.

And



1. Peter. v

Apo. xviii.

Heb. vii.

Psal. ii.  
Heb. v.

And furthermoze, the yearthlye Hierusalem, figured  
not Rome: but y<sup>e</sup> spiritual church of Christ wherunto  
all the chosen resort, to obtayne fauoure and helth of  
Christ our chiefe and euerlastyng prieste, to whom all  
the princes of the yearth ought to come flatte downe  
and wourshyppe, that they maye acknowledge and  
confesse hym to be the sonne of God. But your Rome  
is so farre vnlike to the spirituall Hierusalem, that it  
maye worthelye be called fylthie, and carnall Babi-  
lon as Peter termed it. Mas. Rome semeth to me  
the verye liuelye and expresse Image of that greate  
whore, of whome it is written in thapocalypse, who  
hath made dronke, corrupted, and infected, all the  
whole worlde with her golden cuppe of hipocrisie,  
replenished to the very bryme with abhominaciō and  
vncleanes, she deceyueth and blyndeth the eyes of all  
menne, with a pleasaunt outwarde deceptfull shewe  
of fayned holines, of ceremonies, of beawtie, of ry-  
ches, and of aboundaunce of thynges that fade and  
Decaye. But tell on the ende of the disputation.

Lepi. When master falsidicus had spente all hys  
matter, and sayed what he coude: Thimbassadoz be-  
gan to declare howe the holy scripture was directlye  
agaynst thys primacie. And first he made it playne be-  
ry well, that Christe was the chiefe prieste, not after  
the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchise-  
dech. And that he was not of the tribe of Leui, or of  
the stocke of Aaron, but of the tribe of Iuda, and of  
the stocke of Dauid. And moze ouer that he was not  
chosen, as other menne be: as other chiefe priestes be  
chosen of other priestes, who doeth not alwaye chose  
the beste: but that he was chosen of his eternall and  
heauenly father, when he sayed. Thou art my sonne,  
this

this daye haue I begotten the. And the other chiefe  
 preeites were anoynted with a materiall oyle: but  
 Chziste was anoynted with the holy gooste. And  
 they had on suche garmentes as Moses apoynted  
 them by gods commaundement: but thapparell of  
 Chziste was the whole company of al vertues. They  
 offered incense, and brute beastes, but Chziste offered  
 himselfe vpon the crosse with a spirituall and hea-  
 uenly excellent sweete sauoz. They entred the holy of  
 holyes, but Chziste entred into heauen, and sitteth  
 now at the right hande of the eternal father, making  
 intercession for vs, obteyning what soeuer he desie-  
 reth. Whereas befoze tyme he did put vpon him our  
 infirmities, that by the meanes thereof he might bee  
 earnestly sozowful for our miseries. So that Chzist  
 was chiefe preeite after the ordze of Melchisedech,  
 whiche was muche moze excellent, then was the or-  
 der of Aaron. Neither was he only the sonne of god,  
 vnto whome the spirite is genen without measure,  
 and all power, and dominion in heauen and in earth,  
 in whome all treasures of wisdom and knowledge  
 of god be hid, who is full of grace and truethe: but  
 in him also dwelleth a full plenifullnes of all heuen-  
 ly thynges. And that Chziste hath now taken away  
 Arons presthod as a thing vnperfect, and was but a  
 shadow of this, which is moze perfecte. So that they  
 now maye bee accounted trewe preeites, which be  
 regenerated by Chziste, and haue the spirite of god:  
 And them to be the greater and better preeites, who  
 hath receaued a greater measure and habundance  
 of that heauenly spirite.

And al y other to bee prophane & wicked, notwithstandinge  
 that they bee a thousande tymes anoynted, or-  
 dered, and chosen into the numbze of preeites by the

D.i.

Bope

Heb. i.

Exod. xxviii.  
Esa. lxi.

Heb. ix. vii.

Esa. liii.  
Rom. iiii.  
Sala. iii.  
i. Timo. ii.  
John. xvii.  
i. John. ii.  
Heb. v.  
John. iiii.

Mat. xxviii.  
John. iiii.  
Collo. ii.  
John. i.  
Collo. i.



hope, and hys membres. Wherefore he sayeth ey-  
 ther ye haue the spyrite or not: yf ye haue not the  
 spirite of God, then bee ye no priestes, neyther af-  
 ter the order of Melchisedech, neither after the order  
 of Aaron, because ye be not of hys family. Therefore  
 canne ye not be prestes but after the order of Beliall,  
 after whose order ye may wel be the chief priestes of  
 all. But if ye haue þe spirit of god, thē be ye right pre-  
 cious in dede, & hi shal ye thinke to be þe highest priest  
 of all, who is replenyshed with more habundaunce of  
 the spirite of god. And because that Chziste onely re-  
 ceaued the spirite without measure: he onely muste  
 be taken for the trewe, onelye, and chiefe highe prest.  
 And forasmuch as Chzist onely is full of light, grace,  
 truethe, power, and all heauenslye vertue: it were an  
 extreme wickednes, ydolatre and abhominacion to  
 study to robbe Chziste of these heauenly giftes, and  
 apoynt them to a mortall manne, and so muche the  
 more and greater shoulde thabhominacion bee, the  
 more we bee assuered that Chziste is the chiefe euer-  
 lastinge preeste, as Dauid prophected, and as it is  
 wyrtten to the Hebrewes. Wherefore as the chiefe  
 prestes of the Jewes died, and another was apoin-  
 ted in hys place, by the meanes whereof they were  
 manye: So this Chziste oure eternall preeste, beinge  
 once raysed from deathe dieth no more, but is ascen-  
 ded into heauen, where now he lyueth and reigneth  
 chiefe preeste for euer, and is able perfectly to saue  
 all those that comme forth into the syght of God  
 trustinge vpon hys mediacion. It is the office of  
 the chiefe preeste to put hym selfe betwene God and  
 the people, to offer for the synnes of menne, to praye  
 for thē, and to purchase the fauor of God vnto them.

Psal. cix.  
 Heb. vii.

Bu

But nowe sence Christ hath offered hym selfe vpon  
 the crosse for our synnes, and hath pacified the wrath **Heb. x.**  
 of God the father for euer, & hath preserved his chose  
 once for all, & we shal not more haue any nede of hygh  
 priestes, whiche shoulde offer agayne for our offen-  
 ces: yf that after all thys we attempt to doe sacryfice  
 agayne for thys ende, it can not bee done wth out an  
 exceeding great iniury of God, and open contempt of  
 the sacrifice of Christe. We haue no nede at thys pre-  
 sent to haue any other mē to put themselves betwene  
 vs and god as chiefe priestes: because that wee ob-  
 teyne all fauour by Christ onely and alone, as by our **i. Tim. ii.**  
 onely chiefe priest, chief head and mediator, by whose  
 meanes, and for whose sake oure prayer workes and  
 sacrifices be not onely accepted: but our selues also.  
 Wherefore Christ onely and alone is sufficient for vs, **i. Peter. ii.**  
 neither haue we nede of anye other chiefe priestes,  
 because it is a dignitie that no manne liuinge can vse  
 with out & great offence of God. Who knoweth not  
 that Christ onely is called of the holy gost the head of  
 hys church: not onely of the church militaunt, but **Ephe. iiii.**  
 also of the church triumphaunt. Wherein he shall **Luc. ii.**  
 reygne for euer vntyll the latter daye of iudgement. **i. Cor. xv.**  
 Euen as it is necessarye that he shoulde reygne, vntill  
 he hath put hys enemyes a fote stole to hys feete.  
 Christ wyll haue thys highe dignitie of the supreme  
 head in hys church reserued full and whole to hym-  
 selfe: As he is the true foundation of hys church, vnto  
 whom only this dignity worthely agreeth, because  
 he is onely one, whiche as one supreme head hath the  
 fulnes of the treasures, and of the knowledge and  
 wisdom of God, and of his fauoure and all vertue.  
 Thys is he alone who hauynge the spirite with out  
 measure ruleth and gouerneth his church as an vni-  
 uersal



uersall head, geuing to other menne, as to his inferiour  
 membes sundrye gyftes and benefites after a cer-  
 tayne propozcion and measure. Wherfore even as in  
 the spirituall church of Christe they onely bee trewe  
 priestes, who haue the gyft of the holy ghost powred  
 vpon them, and they be the greater priestes, whiche  
 haue the same in a more plentifull measure: And Christ  
 is the onely chiefe prieste, who hathe the spirite with-  
 out measure. Of a lyke sort they onely be trewe and  
 lyuely membes of the bodye of the same church,  
 whiche haue the spirite of god, and they be more no-  
 ble and more worthy, who haue the same spirite more  
 abundantly. And Christe onely is their head, who  
 chiefly and moste abundantly hathe the spirite of  
 eternall father. Wherfore, in that the byshop of Rome  
 intendeth to attayne to the dignitie of y<sup>e</sup> chiefe priest,  
 and supreme head of Christs church: his studie is  
 nothyng els, but to make himselfe equall with Christ  
 in spiritie, knowledge, vertue, power, and in all other  
 giftes, and graces. Now whether thys be a blasphemous  
 mynde or not iudge you. For that man, which  
 hath not the spirite of god, is not worthie to be called  
 a membre of Christe, or a prieste, or els a christian  
 manne. No, he is not worthie the name of a manne,  
 for hys greuous offences. Yea he ought to bee ban-  
 nyshed from all christian mennes company, & be exco-  
 municated, from the church of Christe. Yt can not be  
 without a merueylous heynouse offence, and a deuil-  
 lish pride, ones to be so bolde, to desire to haue the  
 title of the supreme head of the church of Christe.  
 Where as Paule describeth y<sup>e</sup> true image of y<sup>e</sup> church  
 of Christe he sayeth: Christe is ascended on highe,  
 and hath gyuen giftes to menne, some to be Apostles  
 some to be Prophetes, some to bee Euangelistes,  
 and

Ephe. iiii.

1. Cor. i. vii.

1. Cor. xii. 6

and some to be Doctors. And it is not to be doubted,  
but he would also haue ordeined some other supreme  
head in earthe, yf he had iudged it a thyng necessary.  
And the holy goost in thys place, (whiche should haue  
made so much for thys purpose) would not onely  
haue expessed the thyng by the mouthe of Paule, but  
also would haue named thys chiefe dignitie. When  
Paule myndeth to persuaide the Ephesians to re-  
mayne together in one spirite knyt with the bonde ephe. iiii.  
of peace, the argumentes, that he vseth, be these, say-  
ing: that (yf they be true christia men) they be the very  
membres of one body, and they all haue one spirite,  
euen as they all be called to one ende, and haue one  
Lorde Jesus Christe, one fayth, one baptisme, one  
onely god, and eternall father. No doubt he would  
haue also sayed in thys place, (and they haue one By-  
shope in earth, who kepeth the churche of Christ in or-  
der and concord) yf he had euer mynded to appoynt  
suche a byshop.

M<sup>as</sup>. Yf Paule had euer spoken such wordes he had  
lyed galantly. For the bishops of Rome wil in deuour  
themselves to the vttermost of their power, to moue  
cōtencion and to set christian princes together by the  
eares for their owne enrichynge.

Lepidus. That thyng maye chaunce to bee true. But  
I praye you let me tell on my tale. Then thimbassa-  
dor sayed furthermore: yt is not vnknown vnto you,  
that when the congregacion of the Corynthians a-  
uaunced themselves some tyme in the name of Peter,  
some tyme in the name of Paule, and some tyme of  
Apollo, & Paule chid the bitterly for so doing: he sayd  
not, I wyll not haue you thike here after yf I am the  
head of the churche, neither yet Apollo, But Peter  
Cor. i.  
and. iii. a  
D. iiii. onely



ephe. iiii

uerfall head, geuing to other menne, as to his inferiour  
membres sundrye gyftes and benefites after a cer-  
tayne propozcion and measure. Wherefore euen as in  
the spirituall church of Christe they onely bee trewe  
prieistes, who haue the gyft of the holy ghost powred  
vpon them, and they be the greater prieistes, whiche  
haue thesame in a more plerifull measure: And Christ  
is the onely chiefe prieiste, who hathe the spirite with-  
out measure. Of a lyke sort they onely be trewe and  
lyuelye membres of the bodye of the same church,  
whiche haue the spirite of god, and they be more no-  
ble and more worthy, who haue thesame spirite more  
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intendeth to attayne to the dignitie of y<sup>e</sup> chiefe priest,  
and supreme head of Christes church: his studie is  
nothyng els, but to make himselfe equall with Christ  
in spiritie, knowledge, vertue, power, and in all other  
gyftes, and graces. Now whether thys be a blasphe-  
mous mynde or not iudge you. For that man, which  
hath not the spirite of god, is not worthe to be called  
a membre of Christe, or a prieiste, or els a christian  
manne. No, he is not worthe the name of a manne,  
for hys greuous offences. Yea he ought to bee ba-  
nyshed from all christian mennes company, & be exco-  
municated, from the church of Christe. Yt can not be  
without a merueylous heynouse offence, and a deuil-  
lish pride, ones to be so bolde, to desire to haue the  
title of the supreme head of the church of Christe.

Ephe. iiii.

Psal. li. vii.

1. Cor. xii. 6

Where as Paule describeth y<sup>e</sup> true image of y<sup>e</sup> church  
of Christe he sayeth: Christe is ascended on highe,  
and hath gyuen gyftes to menne, some to be Apostles  
some to be Prophetes, some to bee Euangelistes,  
and

and some to be Doctors. And it is not to be doubted,  
but he would also haue ordeined some other supreme  
head in earthe, yf he had iudged it a thyng necessary.  
And the holy goost in thys place, (whiche should haue  
made so much for thys purpose) woulde not onely  
haue expessed the thyng by the mouthe of Paule, but  
also woulde haue named thys chiefe dignitie. When  
Paule myndeth to persuaide the Ephesians to re-  
mayne together in one spirite knyt with the bonde ephe. iiii.  
of peace, the argumentes, that he vseth, be these, say-  
ing: that (yf they be true christia men) they be the very  
membres of one body, and they all haue one spirite,  
euen as they all be called to one ende, and haue one  
Lorde Jesus Christe, one fayth, one baptisme, one  
onely god, and eternall father. No doubt he woulde  
haue also sayed in thys place, (and they haue one By-  
shope in earth, who kepeth the churche of Christ in or-  
der and concorde) yf he had euer mynded to appoynt  
suche a byshop.

M<sup>as</sup>. Yf Paule had euer spoken such wordes he had  
lyed galantly. For the bishops of Rome wil indenuour  
themselves to the vttermost of their power, to moue  
cōtencion and to set christian princes together by the  
eares for their owne enrichynge.

Lepidus. That thyng maye chaunce to bee true. But  
I praye you let me tell on my tale. Then thimbassa-  
dor sayed furthermore: yt is not vnknown vnto you,  
that when the congregacion of the Cozynthians a-  
uaunced themselves some tyme in the name of Peter,  
some tyme in the name of Paule, and some tyme of  
Apollo, & Paule chid the bitterly for so doing: he sayd  
not, I wyll not haue you thike here after & I am the  
head of the churche, neither yet Apollo, But Peter  
Cor. i.  
and. iiii. a  
onely

D. iiii.



i. Cor. i. b

onely: But he rather concluded all maner of men and  
sayed thus. What were you baptised in the name of  
Paule: was Paule euer crucified for you: as though  
he had sayed: Truly ye bee neither baptised in the  
name of Paule, neither in the name of Peter, neither  
of Apollo, neither was there any of the crucified for  
you: but ye be baptised in Christs name only. Only he  
suffered for you death vpon the crosse. Only he hath  
redemed you, and saued you from sinne. Only he is  
your head, from the which all heauenly giftes descēd.  
Only he is your lyghte, youre wisdom, youre lyfe,  
your saluaciou, and therefore muste ye aekno wledge  
hym onely and alone to bee youre supzeme head, in  
whose name only ye must reioyce. And the to knyght bp  
his disputaciō. He sayd not: mā must esteeme and take  
Apollo, and me for the ministers of Christ, and Peter  
for the lord and mayster: but putting Peter, and him  
selfe, and Apollo altogether he sayed: Man must take  
vs as the ministers of Christ. And in thys poynt he  
agreeth with the doctrine of Christ, who perceyuing  
his Apostles to contend amonge themselves for the  
highest place: because they herd saye that James &  
John had obteyned a prerogative of Christe by the  
procurement of theyr mother, that one of them should  
sytte at his ryght hande, and the other at hys lefte: he  
sayd, ye knowe ryght well that the prynces of naciōs  
beare lordelye rule, and menne of power doe exercise  
their myght ouer them. But it shall not be so amongest  
you. But he, that wyll be greater amongest you, shall  
be youre minister, & he, that wyll be chiefe amongest  
you shall be your seruannt. For the sonne of manne  
came not to bee serued of other, but to serue other  
hym selfe, and to geue hys soule for a redempti-

i. Cor. iiii

on, for many. wherby it is easie to perceiue þ the church of Christ is al together spiritual. And it is not possible þ any mā cā be a true priest, neither a true christian manne in this spirituall church of Christe, onles he haue the spirite of god, and he isto be thought greater, that is more inriched with strength and habundance of the spirite. So that for asinuche as Christe onely hath the greatest plentifulnes of the spirite, he muste without controuerſy be iudged, and esteemed the chiefe, and head preste of al other. Wherfore yf the byshoppe of Rome desier the place of the chiefe byshoppe, he muste of necessitie haue greatest haboundance of the spirite, euen as Christe had, and then, when he is equall with Christe, he shall also be chiefe byshoppe, and chiefe heade equal with Christ: but this also is necessary to bee knowen that the Dominion of the spirite is verry diuerse and contrary, (eue as Christ taught) to þ Dominion of þ flesh, for amongest carnall men, suche as haue more riches, more strēgth, more fauour amongest mē, more frēdshipes, & more nobilitie of bloud, they be þ lordes ouer other, they cōmaūd, they haue other ministers to thē, they be honoured and obeyed, & many times they oppresse the weaker, and vse tyzanny ouer them. But it is contrarywise in the spirituall church of Christe: for such as haue greater light of the spirite they be higher and greater. And they that bee suche, serue all other by the helpe of the spirite, as menne that hath receyued greater gyftes of god, more light of knowledge, more grace, more spirite and a greater talent. So that he, which hath receaued more haboundance of the spirite helpeth more, and serueth more the necessities of other, and setteth forth the glozy of god  
more



Mat. xx. d.

Mat. x. e

Luc. xii. b

Phil. ii. a.

more plentifully. And because Christe had most singular plenty of the spirite, therfore came not he to bee serued, but to serue for the helth of his chosen. Yea & he serued all without exception, and that also humblyng himselfe extremely, vnyll that he (moued of an exceeding greate loue) spent hys own life vpon the crosse. Therefore woulde Christe haue it known to hys chosen, that yf ye wil haue a trew nobilitie, and worthynes, ye muste haue a spirite. Christe abused not this spirituall greatnes of hys, whiche was in the highest degre of honour: therby to chalenge anye honour: before manne, or for thobteynnyng of riches, or imperiously to vse the seruice of hys subiectes, neyther to seke for any priuate comoditie, but to serue other, and to seke for the profyt of other. The power therefore, and the greatnes of the ministers of Christe is altogether spiritual, and standeth wholly in the seruice, and gouernaunce of soules helthe. But y bishop of Rome sekech for no other thing the to be esteemed greate before the worlde, that he maye bee worshipped in earthe, as it were a god, and haue libertye to vse tyranny ouer all churches, to spoyle, and destroy them at his pleasure. Yf the church of Christ wer now as in times paste it was ordeyned to be: he shoulde be thought greater then all the reste, who is indued with more lyght from aboue, and hath receaued more gyftes, and benefites of Goddes hand, and this worthynes of hys woulde he onely vse in settinge forth of the gospel, whereby he might wyne as many soules, as myght bee to Christ. So that be it that Christe had geuen the power of the keyes of the kingdome of heauen to Peter onely, and by him to you that be byshoppes of Rome: (which thinge is not

not trelve): what other power or authoritie shoulde you haue therby (I pray you) then to preach the gospel: then to be witnesses that synnes bee pardoned to them, that beleue, and retayned to the, that beleue not: then to administer the Sacraments accor dyng to Chrystes institucion: the to exhorte, to admonish, to correcte with gentlenes and loue such, as be prone to synne: then to excommunicat (whiche is the chiefe matter of all) suche, as bee open notorise synners, when they amend not after monicion geuen accor dyng to the doctrine of Chryste, and wyll not obeye the church: This farre extendeth your power, and authoritie geuen by Chryste and no further, except ye will confound, the boundes, and thorder of the power ciuile, and the power ecclesiastical.

Mat. This confusion shoulde not our byshoppe in any wise suffer, and that for two causes. The fyrste, because he will haue all hys power esteemed of men to be spirituall and heauenlye, al though he ouer run the whole worlde with his vnbrydled tyranny. The latter: because if he woulde saye that the ecclesiastical power might be mingled and confounded with power ciuile, he might be afrayed lest haply the Emperoz should chalenge the both, & so be made both Emperoz and Pope. I remembre that I haue hearde tell Luc. xii. b. howe Chryste was desiered of a fellowe to make deuision of inheritaunce betwene him and hys brother, vnto whome Chryste made aunswere, who made me your iudge: Who gaue me authority to deuide this inheritaunce betwene you: As thoughe he had sayed: I came not, neither am I sent of my heauenly father, that I should chaleng to me any political power, but spiritual onely. I come to preach vnto you the whole spiritual kyngdome, & to bring you to that highnes of

P. i.

minde

57



mynde, that ye shoulde leaue not onelye the worlde  
but your selfe also for the glory of god, and not to be  
an arbitrer or iudge of your stryfes.

Yf therfore our Byshoppe were Pope neuer so much  
(as he strueth to be) and Chzistes bicar in earthe, it  
is very trewe, that he hath no more power or autho-  
ritie gyuen hym by Chzist, then had Chziste himselfe.  
And therfore whensoever there shoulde be any ciuile  
matters brought before him in iudgement, he should  
make aunswere with Chziste, who made me youre  
iudge: or elles who gaue me authoritie to deuide, or  
put together, to absolue or condempne, by a ciuile  
fashio of iudgement. Thys power must come some o-  
ther waies it ē by Chzist. But I feare me muche lesse  
oure popes shall by thys their newe authoritie bee so  
much occupied in worldly busineses, & they shal haue  
no space or time to thinke any whit of God. And more  
ouer so much shal they: tyranny increase, & they shal  
wyllynge desire and drawe to themselves and to  
their iudgemente seates, all maner of controuersies  
not to make an ende of them, but to inuolue them, and  
make them more doubtfull, by the meanes whereof  
the sewtes indure the longer. And furthermore whē  
they be once made dronke with the bloud of martyrs  
they wyll sow deadly discorde and continuall conten-  
tion amongst chzistian princes, and wyll bee the au-  
thors almoste of all warres whiche shal continue  
for manye yeres. For it is not possyble that common  
welthes shoulde be quyet, where they shal haue rule.  
But I pray you tell me in good earnest, brought the  
embassado: any other authoritie of scripture agaynst  
the Popeshyppe.

Lepe He brought amongst other as farre as I reme-  
ber

bet thautozite of Saynete Paule, who wrote to the  
 Galathians that Peter was the Apostle of the Iues, Gala. ii. 9  
 euen as Paule was of the Gentiles. Wherefore he  
 was neither the Apostle (sayed he) neither the Pope  
 of Rome, neither anye of other nacions, but of the  
 Iewes onely. Neither was he vniuersall Byshoppe  
 of all chrystendome, neither you, that be the byshops  
 of Rome be the successors of Peter, because ye be not  
 the Apostles nor bishops of the Iewes. But Paule  
 shoulde rather haue bene Pope of the gentiles, and  
 so much & more aboute Peter, bicause that & gētiles, of  
 whom Paule was the Apostle, were moe in numbze  
 then were the Iewes, and moe of the Gentiles were  
 conuerted to Christe, then of the Iewes. And Paule  
 preached also in sūdry places of the world, & brought  
 forth the fruite of the gospell more plentifully then  
 dyd Peter, wherfore he was an Apostle more vniuer-  
 sall, and more profitable also to the church of Christ.  
 And Paule more ouer addeth thys thyng in the same  
 place, that he had no lesse grace, beinge the Apostle of  
 the Gentiles, then Peter had beinge the Apostle of the  
 Iewes. Then was not Peter a greater Apostle then  
 Paule was. And so consequentye doethe it folowe,  
 that he not hys head, yea and Paule doeth playnlye  
 call hym, in speciall wordes, felowe, euen as he dyd  
 bothe James and John. And Peter also wrytyng i. Peter. v.  
 to the pastors of other churches commaundeth them  
 not imperiouslye, as though he were their superior,  
 but exhorteth them gently, as hys felowes, callinge  
 Christe, and not hym selfe the chiefe Pastor. And fur- Gala. ii.  
 thermore when he was rebuked of Paule, he sayed  
 not that he was aboue all lawes, and coude not erre  
 because he was Pope: but gaue place to Paule when  
 he

P. ii.

he



he was checked of hym openlye. And also when he  
 was sent by the apostles in to Samaria he withstood  
 them not. He sayed not, it is my office to commaunde,  
 I haue authoritie to send, whom I will, or els to goe  
 my wayes yf it please me: for I am youre head: But  
 he obeyed their commaundementes as a membre of  
 the churche of Christ. And when thimbassadoz would  
 haue folowed hys matter that he intended moze at  
 large, and haue brought moe places of scripture for  
 the vtter subuersion of all the popship: Then master  
 falsidicus thinkyng hymselfe not well handled with  
 thimbassadozs manyfolde and stronge reasons inter-  
 ruptyng his tale, past all good maners, as a mad man  
 in hys fury cryed out with loud voyce and sayed: Ye  
 of the East churches bee full of sectes and heresies.  
 And therfore haue you of all other most nede of a su-  
 preme & visibible head in yearth, by whose authoritie &  
 wisdom ye may be gouerned, by whom the cōtenciōs  
 that arise amongst you for sundrye interpretacions  
 of scripture maye be pacified, & thig being declared &  
 opened by the censure and iudgemente of the chiefe  
 Byshoppe, by the whiche meanes ye myghte knowe  
 the trueth, and remayne firme and stable in the trewe  
 sayth quietly. For thys cause shoulde you chiefly de-  
 sire thys supreme head and gouernoure, who nowe  
 labour to hynder & thying for lacke of knowlage of &  
 pzoofit, that shall enshewe. And therfore can I not stey  
 my selfe, but must a litle passe the bondes of pacience,  
 and speake my mind frely. Yf the whole matter were  
 put to me, I know what I had to doe. I say no more.  
 To these wordes thimbassadoz answered quietly.  
 Master falsidicus: ye say yf the whole matter were  
 put to you, ye knowe what ye had to doe. Bpcause  
 these

these wordes maye bee taken diuerslye, seinge you  
expoude them not your selfe, there is none of vs, that  
can well tel what ye meane by the, some may perad-  
venture gesse, but none cā haue any certain assuraunce.

i. Cor. ii.

So that you onely knowe what is ment by them, e-  
uen as Paule wrote: What manne is he liuinge, that  
knoweth the inward partes, thinwarde thoughtes,  
desiers, and craftes of man, excepte it bee the spirit of  
man, that dwelleth within him. Euē so because men  
see not thinwarde thoughtes of manne, they vnder-  
stande not to what ende theyr wordes tende, & there-  
fore is it no meruayle, yf they attayne not the perfect  
knoweledge of those thinges, that be spoken, namely  
when the wordes be douteful and ambigouſe. Ther-  
fore with what face dareth the byshop of Rome be-  
inge a mortall manne, challenge vnto him authori-  
tie and iudgement to expoude the worde of God, as  
it shall please hym: and to force manne to folowe his  
exposition, be it ryght or wronge. Yt was the holye  
ghoste, and not Peter, that opened the mindes of tha-  
postles, whereby they myght vnderstande the holy  
scriptures: and he taught them all his whole wyll as  
Christ promysed before, and as Esay did wryte, they  
were taught of god, and the lawe of god was pryn-  
ted in theyr stomakes, and written in theyr hartes frō  
aboue, as Hieremie prophecied longe before, & John  
shadowed thesame thinge sayinge. Ye haue no nede  
of any mannes helpe whereby to learne: for thanoun-  
tinge it selfe, that is to saye the holy goste, shall teach  
you all trueth. The holy goste is the trewest teacher  
of al other, and one that performeth his promes most  
haboundantly. He is no lyar, as men be, that breake  
theyr faythe and promes, it is he onely that canne de-

Luk. xlii.  
Ihon. xiii.  
Esa. vi.

Jerme. xxxii.  
Ihon. ii.

Ps. lxxviii.

clare



1. Cor. xii.  
Iohn. iiii.

elare the trew sence of the holy scripture, it is he only  
that can open the myndes of menne, that canne teach,  
strengthen, and stablyshe vs in all trueth, and not the  
bishops of Rome. And if you would say that the pope  
being lightened by the holy goost geueth light to vs:  
I will aunswere fyrrst. The Pope is not alone ligh-  
tened with the light of the holy goost. For þe holy goost  
inspireth where as it pleaseth him, and distributeth  
his gistes amongst men, to euery one as hys will is.  
Wherefore mens consciences must not bee bounden  
and tyed to beleue and thinke that the pope only hath  
the holy goost, that the pope only can not erre, that the  
pope onely is aboue the worde of god, that the pope  
only must be the interpreter, the declarer and ruler of  
holy scripture, and that all we muste in all pointes o-  
bey the popes iudgement. Because that this is ones  
suer, that visible thynges canne bringe no inwarde  
lyghte, nor confirme menne in theyr faythe, and qui-  
et and pacify theyr consciences, but the holy goost on-  
ly canne performe al these thynges, plentifully. What  
nedeth many wordes? he is very Antichriste, whiche  
boasteth himself that he canne geue light to the mind  
either by an inwarde lyght, or by some other meanes  
then by the expresse worde of God, as the minister of  
the worde, by good example of lyfe, and continu-  
all prayer. Yf all we should stande or fall by the iud-  
gement of the pope, why is there so much labor spent  
in gatheringe together of counsellors? Why spende  
we our lyues with so much paine in study for know-  
ledge? in turninge our booke? yf we shall leane to the  
onely worde of the pope. Then in the name of god let  
vs be short, let vs come to the pope, & heare his word  
as it wer an Oracle, and let vs worship him as a god.  
But Paule the Apostle teacheth farre after another  
sorte

sorte, when he commaundeth two or thre to speake  
 in the church in order one after another, and the rest  
 diligently to waite the iudgements of them that  
 speake. And so the iudgement of Ecclesiasticall mat-  
 ters muste be sought for at the church, it selfe and not  
 at the pope of Rome. And further Paule willet in  
 especiall wordes, that when one of the members of  
 the church speaketh, the trueth bee reueled to ano-  
 ther, that sitteth by: hym that spake fyrste to holde  
 hys peace (though he were Pope) and geue eare  
 vnto the latter, vnto whome the trueth is disclosed  
 though he bee one of the basest sorte and vnlearned.  
 For many tymes god hydeth the secretes of his wis-  
 dome from the prudent and wyse of this worlde,  
 and openeth the same to lytle ones. And in another  
 place he maketh Peter equall with the reste sayinge:  
 All thinges be yours, whether it be Paule, or Apol-  
 lo, or Peter, as though he shoulde saye, let none bee  
 youre superiours besides Christe and hys worde: for  
 Peter, and Paule bee youre ministers. Yea and  
 Peter in the fyrst councell of the Apostles harkened  
 to other declarynge hys owne iudgement in that  
 poynt, and geuyng authorytye to the church to  
 doe, what they shoulde thinke good, and willingly  
 and gladly to obeye the iudgement, which the whole  
 congregacion approueth to be perfecte and suer. And  
 althoughe Christ sayed, I haue prayed for thee Pe-  
 ter, that thy faythe should not fayle, yet followeth it  
 not therefore that Peter coulde not erre. For he er-  
 red after that tyme sundry tymes, and namely whe-  
 he expressely denyed Christe the sonne of God. But  
 when Christe perceyved Peters temerous boldnes,  
 & shortly after he would shamefully denye him, to  
 arme

1. Cor. xiii.

Mat. vi.

1. Cor. iii

1. Cor. ii.

Esa. xlix. 6

Act. xv.

Luk. xxi.



Luc. xxi. 6

arme and strengthen hym agaynst the temptacion,  
which shoulde inſewe, lest the greatnes of the fault  
myght hurle hym downe into desperacion: he sayed  
vnto them: Satan goeth about to sift you like chaffe  
and to vndoe, and destroye you. Yea you had bene all  
ready vtterly lost yf I had not prayed for you, and for  
the especially Peter by name, that thy faythe should  
not fayle, because thou wylt fall foulier then the  
rest, and I knowe that God hath herd my prayer.  
For althoughe thou wilt Denye me with thy mouthe,  
yet thou wylt not deny me with thyne heart. Thou  
wylt synne, but synne shall not reygne in the, so that  
in thy heart thou shalt yeld to noughtie temptacions.  
I wyll suffre thee to haue a foule fall, that by the  
meanes therof thy temerous boldnes maye be bz  
delled and rebuked. And againe that after when thou  
shalt come to thy selfe, and perceyue thy owne infir  
mitie, thy hearte shall bee touched with compassion  
agaynst those that shall synne, reysing them vp with  
knowledge, and cōfirming, and boldning them with  
thyne example. Nowe canne I not perceyue howe it  
maye be proued by the wordes before rehersed, that  
Peter was Pope, and could not erre after ward, nei  
ther the Bishops of Rome after hym accordyng to  
his example.

Mas. Wee shall wythe all the wordes that euer  
Christe spake to Peter, to make for the Popeship of  
Rome: let vs wythe them also when Peter counse  
led Christ to forsake the crosse saying: Saue thy self  
O Loide.

Mat. xvi.

Lepi. What aunswere then made Christ:

Mas. He sayed vnto hym: get the out of my sighte  
Sathan, thou troubleste me, thou haste no perseue  
rance

raunce of thinges belongynge to god, but to manne  
onely it is easy to proue that Peter was chief head  
of oure byshops of Rome, and they hys successours,  
takinge it of this fashion, but tell for the on the dis-  
putacion, I woulde fayne heare the ende of it.

Lepi. This embassadour of Constantinople woulde  
fayne haue brought other reasons forthe, and other  
sayinges of scripture against our popeshippe: but the  
Emperoure moued by oure byshope wylled hym to  
holde hys peace, and commaunded the other imbas-  
sadours, that they shoulde also saye theyr myndes.

Then the Embassadoure of Antioche spake in thys  
wise. Because me thinketh it sufficientlye declared  
that holy scripture doeth not onely not stablishe the  
primacie of Peter, but also seme quite contrary ther-  
unto: I will speake my mynde breste as I am com-  
maunded, neither will I bringe any moe reasons, or  
argumentes then thys one, althoughe it bee easy to  
fynde a number. Be it that we graunted Peter to be  
the vniuersall byshope ordeyned of Christe ouer hys  
churche (whiche thinge is not trewe) yet muste it not  
therefoze bee graunted that the byshoppes of Rome  
ought to bee popes, but rather our byshoppes of An-  
tioche oughte to be the chiefe, and vniuersall byshop-  
pes. Because that our byshops, and not the byshop-  
of Rome were the successours of Peter. For Peter  
was byshop of Antioche, and so vniuersally a thyng is  
it that Peter was euer at Rome. To this argument  
master Pseudologus made aunswere in the name of  
our pope, crying out w a loude voice vntill his sides  
cracked again, saying. Peter was here our byshop in  
Rome, & our pope. xlv. yeares together continually,  
and

The embassa-  
dore of An-  
tioche,



and in this same cite was he afterwarde crucified.  
Then Chimbafadour aunswere. A pety rewarde,  
for paynes taken in preaching. But tell me I praye  
you. In what place of scripture fynde you that he  
was euer at Rome? Then aunswere master Pseu-  
dologus: In no place of scripture quod he. But it  
may well be founde in our Historiographers, and in  
many other booke of our byshoppes. and other holy  
menne. Wherunto Chimbassadoure answered. Then  
howe knowe you by the worde of god, that your by-  
shoppes of Rome be the chiefe vniuersall byshoppes  
of the churche of Chyiste, if ye haue not that in holy  
scripture, that Peter was euer at Rome? Trewely if  
ye intend to proue youre byshoppes to bee popes by  
the word of God: ye muste fyrste proue by the same  
worde that Peter was ordeyned of Chyiste the vni-  
uersall heade of his whole churche. And then must ye  
proue by the worde of god, that Chyiste vndoubtedly  
gaue the same authoritie to Peter to make the by-  
shoppes of Rome after hym chiefe byshops by conti-  
nual succession, and laste of all it muste be proued by  
suer authoritie of the worde of god, that Peter was  
at Rome. and byshoppe of that cite, and dyed there.  
These thinges done ye might well beleue that youre  
byshoppes were popes by the worde of God. But  
there is not one of these thre thinges, that ye can proue  
by scripture, especially the second & the thyrde, as ye  
your selves doe confesse. Wherefore I canne not see  
with what face ye canne beare downe so manifest a  
lye. Then master Pseudologus sayd. We knowe that  
our byshop is pope, & that with a fulnes of power, &  
we knowe that he hath receaued this authoritie of  
Chyiste by the meanes of .S. Peter, and not of man  
wherefore

wherefore we knowe him to bee pope by the lawe of  
god, and not by the lawe of manne, and we will also  
holde, and beleue thys trueth as an article of oure  
faith notwithstandinge that none of these thinges  
before reheried can be proued by thauthoritie of holy  
scripture. Then sayed thimbassadour.

Because wee all bee bounde to beleue the articles of  
our faythe, as the foundations, and chiefe principles  
of our religion, it is nedefull that they appeare moste  
playnly by scripture. And you wyll sette fire, and tor-  
mentes before the whole worlde, to make men beleue  
that thyng, whiche by your owne confession can not  
be proued by the authoritie of the holye scriptures.

Where I praye you can menne laye the foundation  
of their fayth, yf they be compelled to beleue, and to  
confesse as a necessary article of their fayth, your By-  
shoppe to be the vniuersall head of the churche of  
Christ, when there is not one word therof in the holy  
scripture. Yt is an intolerable tirāny, the like where-  
of hath not bene herd to bynde the conscience of men  
to receyue so manyfest a lye for an article of their  
fayth, seing it can not onely not be proued by goddes  
worde, but also all the whole scripture is agaynst it.  
You ought to be content to binde men to beleue that  
the Pope hathe the highest authorite of all. But ye  
wyll further compel them to beleue that, that power,  
and authoritie cometh fullye, and wholly from God,  
and not from manne, although that thyng can in no  
wyse be proued by scripture. Furthermoze he would  
haue it be beleued that it maye bee proued by holye  
scripture that oure Byshoppe was Pope, when you  
your selues be forced to graunte that it can not bee  
proued by holy scripture, & Peter was euer at Rome.

Q.ii.

Q.



Of thys chiefe and vniuersall byshoprike of your by-  
shoppe ye can haue none other opinion, but that it is a  
deuise of manne, seing the contrary can not be proued  
by the worde of God: And you wyll haue it receyued  
for an article of ffaith, and that it shal be beleued with  
an heauenly faythe. Yf ye bee not sure whether Pe-  
ter were euer at Rome, or not, for the whiche cause  
ye chaleng your byshoppe to be chiefe, and the succes-  
sor of Peter, how can ye haue certayne knowledge of  
thys your chiefe Byshoprike, but vpon the saying of  
men onely who naturally be lyars: To thys master  
Pseudologus made aunswere. The men which sayd  
that Peter was at Rome were the chiefe byshoppes  
of all other, and therfore coude they not lye, when  
they so sayed. Wherefore we be sure and certayne of  
our popeshippe. Then the imbassadoz sayed: Ye take  
for a grounde that thynge, whiche ye had most nede to  
proue. That is, that your Bishoppes were chiefe By-  
shoppes: and then, agayne that they coude not erre,  
bothe the, whiche poyntes I vtterlye denye. Yf ye  
would say, some sainctes affirme Peter some tyme to  
haue bene at Rome. I woulde streight make answere  
that I knewe not whether they were Saynctes or  
not, for that there is no worde thereof in scripture.  
But ye wyll peraduenture saye, they were cano-  
nized of oure chiefe Byshoppes, whiche coude not  
erre: to that wyll I aunswere as before, that ye take  
that thynge for your pzoofe, whiche remayneth first to  
to be proued. Yea and more ouer wyll I saye, be it  
that ye were assured that they were Saynctes, yet  
must it be graunted that Saynctes haue sometyme  
erred. And so it maye be that they erred euen the very  
same tyme, whē they sayd Peter was once at Rome.  
Namely the thynge being spoken of them, not to that  
ende

ende that it shoulde be receyued for an article of oure  
 fayth necessary for saluacion, as your mynde is: thus  
 by all meanes be you in an error. But let vs graunte  
 that there hath bene some reuelacion touchyng thys  
 poynt, surely I must nedes thynke that it was an e-  
 lusion of the deuill. Yea be it that it were God hym  
 selfe, which had reueled thesame thyng vnto you, &  
 that it were trueth in dede, & it was a reuelacion  
 frome god: yet because there is no worde in all scrip-  
 ture of the thinge, neyther haue other menne this re-  
 uelacion of yours, ye shoulde in no wise force menne  
 to beleue this your popeshippe, as an article of theyr  
 faythe. And furthermore I will proue by strong rea-  
 sons, that these historiographers of yours, these by-  
 shopes, and sayntes, whiche wrote that Peter was  
 the chiefe byshoppe at Rome, and was put to deathe  
 in y<sup>e</sup> same citie, lyed vnreasonably. And fyrst of all tell  
 me in good faythe. At what tyme say they that Peter  
 was at Rome: and howe long dwelt he there? Ther-  
 unto answered Pseudologus. That he came to Rome  
 the seconde yere of Claudius thempere, and was  
 made byshoppe there, and dwelt there. xxb. yeres, by  
 whose preachinge Rome was brought to the faythe  
 of Christe, as both Eusebius, and .S. Hierome hath  
 wrytten. Then aunswered thimbassadour. Thys is  
 once playne (quod he) y<sup>e</sup> Christe suffered vpon y<sup>e</sup> crosse  
 xviii. yere of Tiberius thempere, who reigned xxiii.  
 yeres. After hym succeeded Caius and reigned iiii.  
 yere. Then folowed afterwarde Claudius. Nowe  
 then yf Peter came to Rome the seconde yere of  
 Claudius, ye muste nedes graunt that Peter came to  
 Rome within xi. yeres after Christes deathe. Agayne  
 on the other side: it is playne by the wordes of holye

Q.iii.

Scripture

That Peter  
was not at  
Rome.



Gala. ii.

Roma. xvi. b

scripture, that Paule was not onely not conuerted to the faythe when Chyriste suffered vpon the crosse, but it appereth also that he was not conuerted, when Stephane was stoned. Because the scripture is playne that he kepte theyr garmentes, whiche stoned Stephen to death. This being so, Paule himselfe writeth to the Galathians & he came to Hierusalem .xvii. yeres after he was conuerted, and that then he founde Peter there. Thys was at the leste the .xviii. yere after the deathe of Chyriste. Then if Peter were yet at Hierusalem .xviii. yeres after the deathe of Chyriste, how can it bee that he came to Rome the seconde yere of Claudius, as you saye, whiche was theleuenthe yere after Chyristes deathe. You youre selues maye easely perceauie when ye saye so, that ye speake directlye agaynst the manyfeste wordes of the scripture. Furthermoze Peter was at Hierusalem, not onely eightene yeres after the deathe of Chyriste, but the same tyme also was he sent to preache the gospel not to the Romans but to the Jewes. And it is to bee beleued that he preached & gospel amongst the Jewes. And Paule also in the same epistle, which he wrote to the Romans, because he saluteth a great many there by name, trewly he woulde haue saluted Peter also, if he had then bene the chiefe byshoppe there, as you contend. Wherefoze it is easy to be proued that it is a very false lye, that youre Historiographers doe wryte. But to say the truethe, they, that be named to wryte thys gear, be not the authoys thereof, but they bee youre lyes, whiche you haue annexed maliciously to theyr booke directly repugnynge to the manifeste authoritie of the holy scripture. Then master Pseudologus brought forth a very olde booke, that laye

by hym, so olde that it was eaten with mothes, and  
wormes, wherein there were certayne Epistles I  
cann not tell what, wryten by Clement, as he sayed,  
whome he iudged the fyrste byshoppe of Rome after  
Peter. In these letters wryten by the same Clement  
to James byshoppe of Hierusalem this thinge was  
conteyned, howe Peter beinge at Rome, and percea-  
uyng death drawe nere, in the presence of a number  
of Christian menne, toke Clement by the hand, and  
in the hearing of them all saied. Bretheren, my death  
is now at hande, as Chyste hath reueled vnto me.  
Wherefore I ordeyne thys Clement youre byshop,  
vnto whome onely I deliuer my seate, and the prea-  
chinge of my doctrine, into whome onely I translate  
the same power of loosinge and byndinge, whiche I  
receaued of Chyste. Then sayed Pseudo-logus. Loe  
here maye you see howe that Peter was at Rome,  
and ordeyned Clement byshoppe after hym, and set  
him in hys seate, grauntinge him hys full authoritie.  
Then this bassadour would see and reade those epis-  
tles, & when he had red and wried them he sayd mas-  
ter myne Pseudologus. Ye can not cloke youre lyes  
so craftely, but they will apere as they bee, that is  
to say, lyes, euen at the fyrste sight. For these epistles  
of youre be nothinge els but fayninges of youre  
owne without authoritie, full of banyties and lyes.  
And that it is trew, I say, hereby it maye appere,  
that euen by youre owne historiographers Linus  
folowed Peter, and not Clemente.  
And after Linus folowed Anacletus, & afterwarde  
Clement. Who is numbred to bee the fourthe after  
Peter, and yet would you falsely place hym to be the  
seconde



secounde. And more ouer by youre owne historio-  
 graphers, yf ye wyll account the course of the times  
 as ye shoulde, ye shall finde that James was dead  
 seuen yeaeres before your Clement was Byshoppe:  
 wherefore I can not saye by what reason he coulde  
 writ to James beinge dead. And agayne euen in the  
 first beginning of the salutation, he calleth hym By-  
 shoppe of byshoppes, who shoulde gouerne not onelye  
 the church of the Jewes at Hierusalem, but also all  
 other churches. And yf James were then Pope,  
 trewely then was not Peter Pope, and therefore  
 could he not make Clement Pope after hym, neither  
 by Clemente his successours. And more ouer euen by  
 the same very wordes, that ye alledge, that Peter  
 shoulde saye to Clement before hys death, it can not  
 be proued that Clement was ordeyned vniuersall  
 Byshoppe of all churches: but onelye the byshoppe  
 of the church of Rome. Besides this, if Clement was  
 made Byshoppe of Rome by Peter, as you saye he  
 was, and not cholen of the people, no doubt hys suc-  
 cessours woulde haue folowed the same example,  
 whiche thying they dyd not, and therefore it is false  
 that Peter made hym Byshoppe. I will passe ouer  
 that neither Eusebius, neither Hierome, number  
 these Epistles amongst Clementes workes. Yea &  
 Clement hym selfe in these Epistles prayseth a booke  
 that he shoulde write, the title wherof is *Itinerari-  
 um Clementis*, whiche booke of truely was neuer of  
 hys makynge. And furthermore thys booke maketh  
 mencion of dioceses, archbyshoprikes, primacies, and  
 bishoprikes, whiche orders, and names were not yet  
 distincted and appoynted out, neyther doeth he anye  
 thying els in these Epistles, but set forth the dignitie  
 and

Distinct. xv.  
 Sancta Ro-  
 mana eccles.

and freedom, of priests: whome he wyll haue so free,  
that they shall not intermedle themselves with anye  
handycraft, for a p<sup>r</sup>oofe of the which absurditie he ci-  
teth certayne places of holye scriptures wythed  
beyond the nocke. More ouer in his second Epistle he  
is so bolde to teach James of what sorte he shoulde  
minister the Sacramentes. And yet that fashio is not  
observed thys daye, namely in the administracion of  
the lordes supper. Furthermore none of the auncient  
wryters make any mencion of these Epistles, neither  
yet of them y<sup>e</sup> Anacletus or Euaristus shoulde wryte.  
He citeth out of the newe, and olde testament that it  
is not laweful for priestes to sacrifice or syng masse,  
but when the Byshoppe commaundeth them. which  
thyng can neither be founde in the newe, neither in  
the olde testament. In the fyft Epistle he affirmeth  
that all thynges, wyfes and other, shoulde be com-  
mon, and that yf it be not so it cometh of the wyc-  
kednes of menne. There bee also in thesame Epis-  
tles many other folishe thynges and lyes, whiche he  
reherfed, but bycause ye maye read them your selfe,  
I wyll reherse no more. Master Pseudologus shew-  
ed also certeyne other epistles wrytten as he sayed  
by Anacletus and Euaristus, whereby he minded to  
stablysh this popeshippe. But thynbassadour proued  
by good reasons that they all were of none authori-  
tie, because that it is contened in them that Clement  
shoulde be his predecessoz, which thing Hierome deny-  
eth, & also Ireneus. further, he would not y<sup>e</sup> priestes  
shoulde be accused, or iudged, for a p<sup>r</sup>oofe wherof alle-  
geth y<sup>e</sup> scriptures with out iudgemēt or reaso, he wil  
haue Byshoppes iudges in secular matters, and that  
euery manne maye apeale to them. When it is well

R.i.

known



The ambassa  
dor of Hieru  
salem.

known that, that thyng was neuer graunted vnto  
them before the tyme of Theodosius the Emperour,  
and agayne he sayeth that Cephas signifieth a head,  
where as in dede it signifieth a stone. And further-  
more I can proue the Epistles of Euaristus to be of  
none authoritie, not onely by that he bryngeth manye  
sentences of scripture falsly wrythed & priestes should  
not be accused of any lay mē: but also because he wri-  
teth ad Gallium, & Bardua, two Counsels, in whose  
tyme Anacletus was Byshop of Rome, & not Euari-  
stus which thing is euident by the histories. Master  
Pseudologus blushed, & was ashamed wonderfully,  
when these thinges were layd to his charge, because  
he appeared openlye to all mens sight to haue played  
a false parte, whiche thinge, when the embassadoz of  
Antioche perceyued, he left hym as he was, and gaue  
place to the imbassadoz of Hierusalē, who spake than  
wonderfully in this wise. There is no doubt but that  
Christ, who was the chiefe and vniuersall Byshop of  
hys church, preached his gospel chiefly at Hieru-  
salē, in y<sup>e</sup> which place he was contented to dye for our  
sakes. And this is also certaine, y<sup>e</sup> James succeeded in  
hys roume, who was nexte Byshoppe in Hierusalem  
after Christ. Wherefore yf there shoulde be any supre-  
me, vniuersall, and visible head stablished in y<sup>e</sup> earth of  
the church of Christ militant (because it is sufficiently  
proued that Peter was not the chiefe Byshoppe) our  
Byshoppes of Hierusalem oughte to be Popes and  
not the Byshoppes of Rome. For you woulde haue  
your Byshoppes of Rome to be Popes because of  
none other reason, but that they succeeded Peter: we  
maye muche the better challenge oure Byshoppes of  
Hierusalem to bee chiefe Byshoppes, because they  
succeeded

Succeded Christ, in so muche as Christ is greater, and  
more excellen<sup>t</sup> then Peter. As touching Christe it is  
knowne ryght well that he was the vniuersall head  
of hys church, and that he was crucified in Hierusa-  
lem. And more ouer not onely Paule nameth James  
first before Peter and John: but also in the first coun-  
sell of the Apostles, where as Peter, Paule, Barna-  
bas, and the rest of the Apostles speake, he as their  
heade and iudge, sayed his mynde laste, whiche was  
aproued of all thapostles, and of the whole congrega-  
tion. And it is not to be doubted but that, if the church  
of Hierusalem be the mother, (as she is in dede) of all  
other churches, and of whome all other churches had  
theyr beginninge, wherefore she ought to bee called  
mother, as it was determyned in Nicene counsell:  
Then muste the byshop of Hierusalem, as the spouse  
of the church be called the vniuersall father of all o-  
ther churches, and the chiefe byshoppe, and byshoppe  
ouer all other byshops, as your Clement calleth hym  
in hys fyrste epistle, if it bee hys as you doe alledge,  
Then thus he sayed: These wordes haue I spoken,  
not that I thinke oure byshoppes to bee highest by  
any meanes (for Christe onely is thuniuersall head of  
hys church, who is onelye sufficient) but to declare  
vnto you by a certayne suer reason, if there muste bee  
anye supreme heade in earthe, the same ought rather  
by right belonge to our byshop, then to the byshop of  
Rome. Ye maye now see howe muche vanitie there  
is in your reasons, when our reasons bee so slender  
and yet better then yours. For Christe made neither  
Peter, neither James þ supreme head of his church  
And yet in the fyrste counsell of the Apostles James  
sayed hys mynde laste as byshop of Hierusalem, and

Gala. ii.

Gala. ii.

R. ii.

Paule



The imbar  
fador of Alex  
andria.

Daule nameth hym befoze Peter, and John. But it followeth not therefore that he was vniuersall byshop aboue all other byshops. Notwithstanding this one thinge is trewe, that our church muste be called the mother of all other churches, not that it ought to gouerne all other churches, as you make your argument. Whiche thinge canne not be: but because all other churches, had theyr originall and fyrste begynnyng of it. Wherefoze oure byshoppes haue the fyrst place in the counsell appoynted vnto them, and bee called bishops of the fyrst seate, because of the estimation of the citie, wherein Christe was put to deathe. But they muste not therefore bee called the byshops of other byshoppes, and the vniuersall heades of the church of Christe. The imbassadour of Alexandria, interrupted thys imbassadour of hys tale sayinge. What nede we so many wordes in so playne a matter: Yf the byshoppes of Rome had receaued thys authoritie at Christes hand, & they should be chief byshops & gouernours of al other bishops, as you say, al churches and theyr byshops with the (the church of Rome onely excepted) had ben from the deathe of christe vntill thys daye euer styll heretikes, and scismatikes, because they neuer acknowledged hym to be theyr supreme heade. And mozeouer all counsels, whiche hathe ben holden vntill this day, should haue bene but deuylishe metynges, because they neyther allowed, neither declared the byshoppe of Rome to be Christes vicar, and the supreme head of hys church. But Nicene counsell chiefly, shoulde haue ben deuylishe, not onely because it gaue not the fyrste place to the byshope of Rome, but the fourth: but also much  
more

more because they toke so greate, and so heauenly a power awaye from hym, the best parte whereof they gaue to oure byshoppe of Alexandria, who had the charge committed vnto hym of the churches in the East parties, vnto whome he was appoynted gouernor. And the counsell of Affrike should haue passed all other in heresie, wherein it was establyshed, that the byshop of the fyrste seat ought not to be called the heade priest, chiefe byshoppe, neither by anye such lyke tytle, but chiefly because there was an ordinance made in expresse wordes, that the byshop of Rome by name muste not be called the vniuersall byshop. This is verie certayne, if the byshoppes receyued thys monarchie of god: then were these counselles deuelyshe, whyche toke thys diuine power awaye from them. Cyprian also shoulde haue bene an heretike, not onely because he calleth the Byshop of Rome brother in hys epistles, which he wrot vnto him, but muche more because he maynteyneth with. S. Augustine, that there is none, which is byshop of other byshoppes: and that it is a greate tyranny to desier to be lorde ouer other byshoppes. And also youre. S. Gregory shoulde not onely not haue ben a sayncte, but also an extreme wicked and a condemned parson. For he wryteth expresse, that he which, woulde bee byshop of all other byshoppes, shall not haue the place of Chyill in earthe, but of Lucifer: and shalbee very antichriste hymselfe. And further he bryngeth in a number of inconueniences, whiche shoulde insewe, yf the byshoppe of Rome shoulde take vpon hym the dygnitie of the chiefe byshoppe, as thoughe it were by the lawe of god.

R.iii.

Then



Then thus he sayed: Seing then that thys your pri-  
 macie is not godly, nor of God, ye must of force graunt  
 that it is either of manne, or els of the deuill. But it is  
 not of manne, as I wyll proue by stronge reasons:  
 wherfore it is of the deuill. That it is not of manne  
 thys wyll I proue. The Emperour hymselfe can not  
 gyue vnto you anye spirituall power. For you your-  
 selues graunte that thys dignitie, whiche ye haue is  
 not geuen you of the Emperour but of Christ. Wher-  
 fore ye must acknowledge Christ to be your supreme  
 head, as all other Byschoppes doth, who confesse not  
 that they receyued thys spirituall authoritie, that they  
 haue, either of the Byschoppe of Rome, or elies of the  
 Emperour, but of Christe onely. So that the Empe-  
 rour can not gyue vnto you any dominion, or power,  
 sauynge that, whiche is temporall, and that onely in  
 suche countreyes as be vnder hys gouernaunce. Se-  
 ing then he hathe no dominion either in Asia, or eles  
 in Affrike: He ca not make you superiours to vs, ney-  
 ther haue we anye nede to haue you to be our gouer-  
 nours, the princes, that we haue be sufficient for our  
 tuicion. He maye gyue vnto you some temporall  
 power: but yet only in such prouinces as be vnder him  
 in Europa, but he can not gyue you the chiefe place,  
 onles he will willingly forsake his empire, & sette you  
 in hys place, and make you aboue hym selfe. Ye crye,  
 and saye that ye be Christes Vicars: truely yf ye bee  
 Christes Vicars, ye would indeuour your selues ear-  
 nestly to folowe hym. When the Jewes would haue  
 made hym a kynge, he fled and woulde not receyue  
 that dignitie. But you be farre from folowyng hys  
 example, whose Vicars ye seme to be, that ye procu-  
 red wonderful ambitiously thys chiefe supreme dyg-  
 nitie

nitie, contrary the expresse worde of Christ, who per-  
 ceuyng the Apostles to contēd, which of them should  
 be aboue other, he sayed vnto them playnly, he would  
 not haue them stryue to be lordes, and beare rule, as  
 the princes of thys world, but rather to serue. Christ  
 him selfe as longe, as he was here in earthe, woulde  
 take no temporall Dominion vpon him, that he might  
 holly be bent to the sauinge of soules, and that no let  
 shoulde hinder him in settinge forth the Gospel. But  
 you, as though ye were superiours to Christ, will like  
 tyrauntes with the offence of all the whole worlde  
 challenge vnto you an vniuersall Dominio. Seing the  
 thys primacie of yours, is neither of God, neither  
 of manne, ye must nedes graunt, that it is of the Deuil.  
 Wherfore we all, as many as be here together, pro-  
 test with one assent, and voyce, in the name of oure  
 churches that we wyll not admit thys primacie, we  
 allow it not, neither wil graūt we thereto. But utter-  
 ly, and expressely we condempne it, we wyll not obey  
 it, but wil withstād this vnbridled terannye of yours  
 to the uttermost of our powers. Then arose master  
 Gooplanus a stout proctour of the Pope, & thus he  
 began. Our chiefe bishop (quod he) hath not takē this  
 high dignitie vpon hym to the intent to offende you,  
 spoile you, or to exercise any terāny ouer you, but on-  
 ly to defende you, to endewe you with honoz, and to  
 profit you, and to enriche you with benefices, titles,  
 dignities, priuileges, immunities, benedictions, staci-  
 ons, absolucōs, dispēsaciōs, pardōs, suffrages, & Ju-  
 bilies, in the whiche thynges he wyll serue you all,  
 he wylbe the seruaūte of the seruaūtes of god, wher-  
 fore ye ought not to withstande hym in a thyng so  
 profitable vnto you. To thys the same imbassadoz  
 answered

Math. xx. c  
 Mat. ix. d. r. c  
 Lu. ix. c. xx. b  
 i. Peter. v. a

John. xviii. c

Math. xx. d



answered saying : As longe as ye can not proue by  
bnaunswerable argumentes that youre Byshoppe  
is equal with Christ, in spirite and loue, we wyll ne-  
uer assent that he shalbe oure Byshoppe, and supzeme  
head. Yf ye wyll haue vs to acknowledge hym not  
onely to be our chiefe Byshoppe, but also oure chiefe  
prince ( as by youre argumentes ye appeare to goe  
about ) and that we ought to beleue that he may cha-  
lenge vnto hym both the authorities, ecclesiastical, and  
ciuill: ye must of necessitie first shewe that he is aboue  
Christe in wysdome, power, and loue, bycause it is  
well known that Christ woulde in no wise take vp-  
on hym any ciuile gouernaunce, in thys worlde. We  
be affrayed of so monstrous, and horrible a head.  
Wherfore we can not allowe this authoritie, neither  
that he shoulde be oure superior. Yf you intende to  
admit hym, take heede ye be not to hastie, for ye shall  
perceyue, to your bitter vndoinge, that he is no shepe-  
herd, but a bloudie woulfe. Then arose master Thra-  
sibristus so sodenly, a so fearfully that it appeared he  
could stare hym selfe no longer. And beinge in-  
dewed with a wonderful power, stoutnes, violence,  
and fury: thus he sayed. What nede we haue so many  
wordes for the defence of oure Popeshyppe, seynge  
there hath bene brought ströng reasons enoughe to o-  
uercome the grassest witte in the worlde, in so muche  
that a blynde man maye see the truethe of them.  
Wherfore bycause these our reasons, our pleasures,  
our gentylnes, and fayre promises, can not content  
them, our moste holye father must vse hys large and  
endeles authoritie. And then turnyng hymselfe and  
speakyng to the Pope he sayed. You moste holy fa-  
ther bee the supzeme head of the churche of Christe,  
and

& therefore be you aboue all other parsons, men, An-  
gels, reasons, holy scriptures, authorities, yea and  
aboue the whole world. There is no man may iudge  
you, or elles comande you, for so it is come to passe:  
Nowe ye be Pope, and being Pope ye can not erre.  
Therefore onely saye thus: We be Pope, and we wyll  
be Pope, and it is ynoughe. Your power and authori-  
tie is so greate, that if ye wer not pope, (if yet ye once  
pronounced these wordes: we wilbe) ye should be out  
of hande. Then loking vpon the imbassadors with a  
fearce countenance, he sayed: Yf ye wilbe rebelles to  
hys holines, ye shall feele the lighteninges, and thun-  
derboltes of his excomunications and cursinges flye  
in the ayer, euen to the furthest countrey in the East,  
and then shall ye knowe whether he bee pope or not.  
Moreover we shal haue Cesars helpe and fauor ioy-  
ned to our strengthes, so that all we coupled in one  
will defende the popes authoritie with our sword.  
Then all the imbassadors arose at once, to aunswer  
this sayinge with one accorde, but there was a signe  
made to the popes chaplayne that he shoulde doe as  
he was bidden, and straighte waye he beganne with  
a loud voyce, the hymne: Te Deum laudamus. The  
noyse whereof fylled the ayer vp to the sterres, and  
all the reste folowed them, crying: whoo victoria,  
victoria, victoria. And euen at the very same instante  
rauge all the belles in Rome. The pope himsefe was  
by and by caught wth mennes handes, and borne  
vpon theyr shoulders, and so they caried home the  
moste holy father to hys place with a great pounpe  
and triumphe. Nowe must ye not meruaylle though  
ye sawe me, as ye sayed in the begynninge iocunde  
and merye.

S.i.

Maf.



Mas. Alas what became of the poore imbassadors?  
Lepi. They were all stryken in a dumpe by and by:  
and departed to theyr innes sad & heuy, taking thys  
great rebuke so well as it might be.

Mas. Yf I had bene in theyr coles, I woulde not  
haue thought, that it had bene good tarynge for me  
then in Rome.

Lepi. I thinke no manne woulde vse any violence a-  
gaynst them.

Mas. Well, I am sure the pope woulde no more send  
them wine of Grece, and Corsica.

Lepi. Or if he sent any, it shoulde peraduenture bee  
myngeld. But nowe canne I tary no longer with  
you for now I see the nyght draue the on, and I haue  
an exceeding deale of busines to doe. Thinke ye not,  
where this disputacion was: euen where there was  
none els by, sauing the popes mosse faythefull fren-  
des, who woulde say nothinge but that should make  
for the pope.

Mas. Yf it be, as you say, either will they hold theyr  
prace, or elles they haue very litle to saye to theyr  
commendacion.

Lepidus. Ye bee in a manifest errour. For there was  
neuer so greate a lye, but it may be so craftely colour-  
red, and painted, that the blynd common people may  
thinke it very trewe. I haue nowe tolde you all the  
whole matter, desieringe you to kepe it secret as ye  
promessed me at the beginninge.

Mas. I will doe the beste I can, but me thinketh it  
will be very hard for me so to doe. I thanke you har-  
tely for your paynes for shewing this pretie stoye  
so fully, and so diligentlye.

Lucifer,

Beelzebub,



I haue thought good to call you agayne  
to gether here in thys place, that I might  
reioyce with you for the byrthe of Anti-  
chryst, so happy, & so vnloked for: euen as  
the angelles reioysed in Christes natui-  
tie. But now we must we laye our heades to gether, and  
take counsell by what meanes, and deuise wee maye  
establishe thys our kyngdom, and increase it, & bring  
it to the highest degre of all wickednes, and mischiefe.  
We thynketh it were best first to goe about so to sette  
forth and amplifie hys honoz, that menne by litle and  
lytle maye take thys Antichriste for a certayne God  
in earthe, and honoz and magnifie hym euen as their  
god. That we maye vse the highe authoritie, whiche  
he hath, for a handsome and strong instrument to the  
comittinge of all kyndes of deceyptes, mischefes,  
and wickednes. We wyll prynte in mennes heartes  
(as muche as in vs lyeth) that Christe gaue the keyes  
of the kingdom of heaue to Peter, and his successors  
and also ful power, and iurisdiction, not onely of the  
empire of thys worlde, but also of the heauenly king-  
dome.

Beelze Truly thys thyng pleaseth vs very well,  
so that he haue none authoritie in hell ouer vs, for we  
be surely perswaded, that he will come to so highe a  
degre in abhominacion, and wickednes, that yf he  
shoulde haue the rule ouer vs, but one day, he would  
bryng vs into a greate deale worse case then we be.

Luci. Yt is euen as thou sayest. But we wyll foresee  
to yieoperdy wisely ynough, for my trust is to bring  
him to such a wickednes that he shal aduenture with  
hys thenish fingers to corrupt the holy scriptures, &  
shal violently & mischeuously wyth them to the esta-

Shall.

blishynge



blisshinge, increasing, and exercisynge, of his intol-  
erable tyranny. I knowe well they will not be ashamed  
to saye, when Christe sayed to Peter, thou shalt  
be called Cephas, that he mente thou shalt bee called  
head, and so was Peter made head of all thapostles,  
who willinglye obeyed that primacie. And also that  
Peter afterwarde left thys chiefe high authoritie to  
the Byschoppes of Rome by succession.

Beelze. Yf the matter woulde come thus to passe, in  
case Peter shoulde be raysed agayne from deathe he  
shoulde no more be Pope, no, he shoulde haue no man-  
ner of authoritie.

Luci. In dede he shoulde haue no more then shoulde  
please our Byschoppe of Rome to graunte hym of hys  
bountifull liberalitie. And thys thyng is very nota-  
ble, we will cause all their lyes to be wrytten in their  
canons, and so will we blinde the eyes of the vnlearn-  
ed, that they shall take the same canons for thynges  
moste holye. And also we shall all cause the churche of  
Rome, notwithstandinge it is most wicked and here-  
ticall, that it shall not onely be accounted for the chur-  
che of Christ, but also it shall be take for the head and  
mother of all other churches.

Beelze. Surely the churches of Christ wyll neuer so  
take it, thoughe our churches so doe.

Luci. Yes, menne shall haue thys opinion of the chur-  
che of Rome chiefely, and so of all other churches  
that shall hang vpon her, & they be & churches of Christ  
thoughe they be ours neuer so muche. We wyll per-  
suade also that the churche of Rome is without spot,  
and worthy to be as a glasse and ensample to all  
other churches.

Beelze. Yea of all abhominacion.

Luci.

**Lxxi.** All shall folowe after her as after a chiefe ladye maysters that can not doe amisse, who hath full power: vnto whom all may appele, and from whom none maye appeale, vnto whome men must rûne for refuge in matters of weight, as it were to god, because she maye be iudge to all other, and be iudged of none other, and maye call agayne her sentences as oft as her listithe, & chaunge statutes made in counselles, and pronounce hym an heretike, whiche dareth speake one word against it whose seat, dignitie, & authoritie is hyghest, by the whiche authoritie she may gather general counselles together, & by whom all doctrines shalbe allowed or disallowed: who onely may determine & stablishe controuersies in religiõ of what matter so euer they began. Who onely maye expounde the olde canons and the holy scriptures as it pleaseth her. And that all menne maye honour and obeye her, though the thyng she commaunde seme neuer so wrongefull and intollerable. Nowe if the churche of Rome haue once so large authoritie, and yet be vnder the pope, euenas the wife is in the subiection of her husband: consider then with your selues how greate authoritie our high bishop of Rome shall haue. For besides all these thynges rehersed, he may bringe to passe that the sentence whiche he hath once geuen and allowed for good maye be vayne and of none effecte: he onely shall haue authoritie to establish new religions, & al such ordinaunces as he shal make, must be receaued with no lesse reuerence then though they had ben spoken with gods own mouth. Because that his goodnes shalbee the helthe of men, and may haue none other iudge but god alone, and that it is not necessary that he should purge himself

**S.iii.**

**of**



of his fault when he is accused by other: because Peter hath left to all byshops of roine by continuall succession not onely al his merites, but also his innocencie, and because he hath authoritie ouer iustice: and also because hys power is of god, & themperours of the pope, and hath authoritie ful, and whole in earth to apoynt and determine what him listeth in all controuersies, that come in question in matters of religion, for he hath the solutions of all controuersyes hid within hys breste, and he is the heyer of all thempier, and of the kingdome of the Romanes, and therefore may he doe what he will, for he hath as much authoritie as euer had Peter.

Beelze. This onely thing, excepted, that he can not rayse deade men to life againe, as Peter once dyd. Luc. He only hath the authoritie to canonize Saintes, he only is aboue al counsellors, & ordinances, he only may dispence agaynst iustice, & he only may change gods definitive sentence. And if it were so that al the whole world should speake against the pope, yet must the minde of the pope onely bee allowed. He only hath the knowledge of the church, and that after such a sorte, that he only can chaunge the nature of thinges, & make somwhat of nothing. In him only must the will onely be esteemed for the best reason, that can be deuised, not so hardy that any man should say vnto him, why doe you this, or this thing after this or that fashio. For he can make rightuousnes of wronge, & amend all thinges as he shal thinke good, he can expound, & chaunge lawes, & make al square thinges rounde, as one that is neither pure god, neyther pure manne.

Beelze. Then shall he be a deuell, or elles some kind of brute beast. But I thinke it no very harde thinge to perswa

perswade all thys geare to hym, hys mynde is so wonderfully puffed vp with ambition.

Yet can I not see howe menne maye be made beleue, that the Pope is their God in earth.

Luci. Yea, ye knowe not that it is an easie thyng to deceyue the common sort of the vnlearned, namely in maters of religiō. You knowe right wel þ they be naturally enclining to al kindes of supersticiō. There is none so shamefull a lye, nor no deceypt so farre out of frame, that the worlde wyll not reedely receyue, yf it be deliuered them by anye authoritie with some colour, and lykelihood of a trueth. What chrestian man is he, whiche wyll not wyllingly belene, that Christ, is ascended vp into heauen, and hathe left hys Vicar here in earth indwed, and furnished with a ful power and authoritie to doe all maner of thynges. At the least wyse that faultes myghte be amended, whiche amongst a numbze of matters, readely arise in the church by the reason of hys absence. And that especially, when the worlde hathe conceaued a wonderfull good opinion of their lyfe and learnynge, whiche shal be the setters forth of the matter. And moze ouer we wyll accurse hym, what so euer he be, and declare him an Apostata, a blasphemer agaynst the holy gost, irregular, worthe to bee suspended, and disgraced, that wyll aduenture to speake but one worde agaynst our Popehod. And yf it fortune that he be a Byshoppe, or a priest that committe thys fault, we will haue hym declared excommunicate, deliuered into the power of Satan, an heretyke, a defamed person, an infidell, a committer of Sacriedge, a Sismatike, a dampned and a cursed body. Who is, that wyll not be affrayed of these wordes. When the very sounde of them be-  
ing



of his fault when he is accused by other: because Peter hath left to all byshops of roine by continuall succession not onely al his merites, but also his innocencie, and because he hath the authoritie ouer iustice: and also because hys power is of god, & themperours of the pope, and hath authoritie ful, and whole in earth to apoynt and determine what him listeth in all controuersies, that come in question in matters of religion, for he hath the solutions of all controuersyes hid within hys breste, and he is the heyer of all thier, and of the kingdome of the Romanes, and therefore may he doe what he will, for he hath as much authoritie as euer had Peter.

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Beelze. Then shall he be a deuell, or elles some kind of brute beast. But I thinke it no very harde thinge to perswa d

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ing



being spoken is so feareful. Yf these thzeteninges woll not be sufficient, then in dede wyll we attempt moſte cruel perſecutions, men ſhalbe caſt in priſo, & ſhal loſe bothe life and goodes. There ſhalbee no fault in the worlde more heynouſly puniſhed then thys one of diſobedience agaynſte our Popehod. Menne ſhall heare God blaſphemed, and ſome deny the myght of God, and ſome mocke God: and yet ſhall all menne laughe & make a game therat as though it were but a triſelyng matter. But yf any manne ſhall attempte to deny the Popes power, or to diminith theſame neuer ſo lytle, he ſhall be burned alyue with longe tozmente. More ouer we wyll cauſe all the bookes to be burned as manye as ſhall ſeme to make any thinge agaynſte our pophod. Yea, and we will forbid men that they ſhall not haue the holy ſcripture in thyr handes nor in theyr myght vnder the payne of fyer and rope.

*Beelze.* This thinge woulde they doe very gladly becauſe the ſcriptures be againſt them. But it wold be ſo manifeſt and open ſacriledge and wickednes, that it can not well be clokod with no coloz, pzetence, fraude or craft. Truly it ſhalbe enough to corrupt the ſcriptures, and violently to wrythe it to theyr croked purpoſe without al feare or ſhame.

*Luci.* They ſhall not allow nor ſuffer any bookes to be red but ſuch as maynteyne this craft & falſhod. So that euen as the ſimple ſhepe, folow theyr ſhephearde: ſo ſhall the Chriſten men theyr heades, & we will ſo indenuoꝝ our ſelues to blynde menne, that they ſhall not onely beleue and magnifie thys hyghe byſhop for theyr priuat commoditie: but they ſhall alſo defende it tothe and nayle euen to the very deathe.

*Beelze.* But howe maye it be brought to paſſe, that they

they shall not see so manifest a lye, they beinge the  
heades of the church.

*Luci.* We wyll iuggle their eyes with proude ty-  
tles, highe dignities, offices, & benefices, the reue-  
newes of whom shalbe fat stipendes, that they maye  
make gaudes & triumphe w all aboundaunce of pleasure.  
We wil also make lawes & the people shall not only  
reuerence them, but shal also esteeme them as goddes  
for theyr religions and popish holynes. And agayne  
& men shal alway studie, & occupie al & wittes in theyr  
heads to preserve & increase this dignitie, whereun-  
to there may apeare some hope & they shall attayne:  
all shall hange vpon the popes sleue, not for feare on-  
ly of losse of theyr office, benefices, yerlie reuenewes,  
& promotions: but also vpon hope to get more. Now  
maye you easely iudge whether they will apply the  
powers of their strength & wit, or not, for & settinge  
forthe & establisshing of our pope hode, & the earnestest  
they will be in this poynte, the more necessary & pro-  
fyttable a thinge it will be to them to defend the same.  
For if the popeshippe once fall, they should all sterue  
for hunger, because they haue none honest craft, or ex-  
ercise to take them to. Yea and I will cause, the pope  
to forbid them al honest kindes of exercises, and that  
vnder a couler of religiō & holines, lest peraduenture &  
handes & consciences of spirituall mē should be fou-  
led with laboringe, they shall all bee occupied (suche  
shalbe the bosting) about & helth of soules. So great  
shall they be that they shall disdayne to preache gods  
worde: neither shall they be otherwise occupied, then  
in celebrating, agayne, & agayne their colde and su-  
persticiouse ceremonies, and that with such a pompe  
and glory, that it shall be a shewing and a settinge

C.i.

fourthe



fourthe of themselves.

Beelze. In what kynde of exercise then shall they occupie themselves all theyr life tyme, for it is a very paynefull thinge to be allwayes ydell.

Luci. They shall not bee allwayes ydell good fyr, but shall haue somethinge adoe allwayes, in disynge, cardinge, bankettinge, in wantonnes, contencion, and other such lyke courtly pastymes. And that they may be more diligent in the maynteyninge of thys popes shipe, I will prouyde for them vnder a pretence of an ecclesiasticall lawe, & they shall be disbozdened, and fre from all exactions of princes of thys worlde. Moreover I will make a lawe whereunto shall be sworn all byshoppes, and Doctors, that they shall not onely attempt no thing agaynst this popehod, but also shall maynteyne, and defende it to the vttermoste of theyr power. And also for the stablishement of oure Antichriste, it shall be stablyshed by a lawe, that these wicked wretches, & ouer thereunto by oure spirite, shall some tyme congregate them selues together in theyr wicked counselles onely to kepe downe, and extinguishe (by a common consent) the treuth of the gospel. By meanes of the which congregacion they shall retyrne all the princes and magistrates of the earthe to confirme theyr tyrannye, and to defende thys detestable abhominacion of the Pope. And we wyll make the worlde beleue that suche counselles canne not erre, whiche thinge wilbe easy to compase: men shall be so blynd and ignorant. We will also deuise for the popes pleasure a newe kinde of diuinitie altogether vaine, superstitious, boide of learning, heretical & wicked, ful of vanities and darknes, of mans inuentions, doubtes, questions, & contencions, the mother  
of

of all sectes, errours and, abominations.

Thys euill kynde of diuinitie shall brynge in suche a darkenes, that it shall hurte and deceyue verie good wittes. There shall bee no scole, neither vniuersitie, whiche shall not be hurted and infected with this Antichrist of ours. Good letters shall be banysht, and so shall they lacke all good learnynge, in so much that their children (though they be baptised, and therefore Dedicated to God) they shall learn nothinge els in their scoles but bayne and fylthye tales. And furthermore that the tyranny of thys Bishoppes empire may be the more stronglye, and surely established, the Popes beinge inspired with oure spirite shall wyte decrees, and decretalles, that is to saye: prophane, wicked and abhominable sentences. And yet not withstanding, the worlde shalbe in suche a blindenes, that they shall thynke them very holy decrees. And to conclude in fewe wordes, though God onely bee to bee worshypped, and prayed vnto with a trewe louynge intiernes of myndes: yet by my craftes wyll I bryng it to passe, that the Pope shall commaunde me to praye not onely to Angels, and Sayntes, and to such as were most wicked, and yet by hym canonized: but also vnto their Images, pictures, and reliques, and that with as stinking a kinde of supersticio as may be. Beeze. Merely I can not perceyue howe euer it wil come to passe, that christian menne maye fall into so manifest vices, wickedneses, and ydolatry. Of a truthe, if there woulde come suche a tyme, wherein these detestable vices myghte bee committed, that ye haue now spokē of: I thinke the christian men would haue moe ydoles, then euer had either the Jewes, or the gentiles, and woulde excede with their wickednes

T.ii. and



and ydolatry all other nacions of the worlde.

Luci. But I promise you that we may easely bringe it to passe by the meanes of thys oure head, that men shal fall both into these, & al other kyndes of abhominacions. Yf ye doubt how this thing may be brought to passe I wyll tell you, that ye maye helpe to sette it forwarde to the vttermost of your powers. It is not vnknowen vnto you, & they haue a custome in þe church of Christ, when any christian man suffereth martyrdom: the rest of the Christian congregacion doethe what they can to haue their bodies honorably buried, as it is a thyng bothe honest and godlye. And their Bishoppes yerely vpon the same daye, that those martyrs suffered be wont to make mencion of their constancie and victorie: to thintent that menne shoulde be encouraged, not onely to folowe the example of the Sayntes that they maye bee stronge to dye for the glorie of Christ, yf the thyng so require: but also for a witnes of the resurreccion, that is to come, & to bring menne in a contempt of thys lyfe, whiche shortly wyll faade, and perishe, into the hope of lyfe euerlastyng. Whiche deuocion God hath soundlye tyimes approued, and confirmed with soundy miracles. Now wil we moue and stirre menne vnder a pretence of religion, and holines to rip and cutte vp theyr dead bodies, & to put their bones in vesselles of Christall, siluer, or golde, & to set the bpō aulters, where the lordes supper is accustomed to be ministred, as in a place mothe holy, and replenyshed with all godlye religion. In the meane space the people shal flocke thither together, and shal beginne not onely to pray to the Sayntes, but also to theyr bones and reliques. Whiche ydolatry we wyll confirme with some miracle of ours: by the same

thesame power, that god hath permitted vnto vs, as  
he promised in holye scriptures Of thys shall arise  
suche supersticion amongst menne, and such a vn-  
advised zeale of religion: that by & by they shal begyn  
to buylde temples, chapelles, & aulters, which shal be  
halowed in the honor of these Sainctes, & there shal  
the Images of them be sette forth to be sene of the  
people. Yea and verely shal their feastes bee kepte,  
that euen as a greate number of the Jewes ranne John. xi.  
to Bethania, not for Iesus sake onely, but to see La-  
zarus when they heard tell that he was reysed a-  
gayne by Chryste from deathe: So shal the Christi-  
an menne runne to the churches rather for to see and  
worshippe those Images, and reliques of saynctes,  
then for Chryste. Neither is it to be doutted, but that  
a tyme wyll come, when they shal set more store in  
very dede by saynctes, then by god, althoughe they  
wyl peraduenture be afrayed to say so. And also we  
muste handle the pope wisely, whome they shal take  
for theyr god, that he may not only allowe these mis-  
chiefes, and abhominacions: but that he may of him-  
selfe will them, and commaunde them. Thys thinge  
wyl he doe not onely for the gayne and priuat com-  
moditie that shal arysse therof, when he shal see peo-  
ple rûne to deade mens bodie, to Images of Saic-  
tes, to altars, and pictures, and offer there, muche  
money, buyld gorgeouse and sumptuose chappels,  
and churches, and giue vnto them great verely reue-  
newes, whereby his kingdome shalbe increased, but  
also for thopiniõ of religion and holines that he may  
shewe himselfe as a god in earthe, and hab'e dayly to  
fynde out new religions and fashions, that were ne-  
uer sene before, neither knowen to men, that be aliue,  
neither to the old holy fathers, neither yet to Chryste  
himselfe.



hym selfe. Then, as tirauntes bee accustomed to doe, when they wyll reigne, whiche make common games, and triumphes, and goodly shewes, where with to occupy mens myndes, that the people gasing vpon the sightes present shal haue no leasure to fancies howe to auoide the tyzanne, or to consider howe to discharge theyr shoulders from the burden of bondage: so shall the pope of a lyke sort iudge it mete to deuise dayly new rules, new religions, new kyndes of seruinge god, new trades of lyuinge, and new ceremonies. Thus shall he doe, that menne beinge taken, and astonied with merueylinge at these newes, and faste tyed with the rope of supersticio, and blinded with the inchantment of error: shall haue neither leasure, neither meane to open their eyes, whereby to espie out the popes abhominable wickednes.

**Beelze.** All this geare pleasech vs very wel, one thing only excepted.

**Luci.** What is that one thinge, whiche pleaseth you not?

**Beelze.** Not withstanding that there can no greater abhominacio be committed, then that ye haue reherfed, yet wil he now be much worse then we. Wherefore I feare me lest, when he shall dye & come down hether to hell, that as he passeth vs in wickednes so he wil be aboue vs in dignitie.

**Luci.** Knowe ye not that as Chyriste for his humblenes was auauiced aboue al the companies of angels: so also must Antichyriste for hys pryde be auauiced aboue al the orders of deuels: we muste take this seruice wel a worthe. And as for my parte, suerly I would not stycke to lease my chiefe rule in hel, of con-  
dicion I might wreke my malice vpon god. Thinke

ye

ye that he will desiere to bee any thinge els ouer vs  
then oure heade, as he is in the worlde the heade of  
oure members:

But I pray you suffer me to make an end of my mat-  
ter. Ye know ryght wel that the chosen of God be sa-  
ued by the mere mercy, and goodnes of God through  
Christ, who is dead for them vpon the croce. Yea and  
that the good thinges, which either they haue now,  
or had in tymes paste, or here after shall haue, all  
came of the pure grace, and tender mercy of God by  
the deathe of Christe, whyles they beleue in hearte  
and mynde, and assuredly feale in the spirite that all  
these thynges bee geuen them of God freely: In the  
whiche thinges consisteth the true christian religion.  
But I by the meanes of oure head, wyll prayse and  
magnifie by lytle and lytle the lyghte of nature, as  
muche as may be, and that man hath of hymselfe, his  
witte, hys wisdom, hys power, his free wyll: and in  
the meane space wyll I minishe the lawe of God, I  
wyll bury Christ, and shadow the grace of God with  
darkenes so wittely, and so warely, that men shall be-  
leue that they be able (as they shall dreame) to fulfyll  
the whole lawe of God by a certayne influence of his  
grace graunted to all menne. And more over to doe  
certayne other workes of muche more perfection then  
those workes, whiche Christe commaunded, whiche  
workes they shall call workes of supererogacion. By  
the meanes of these workes shall be established sun-  
drye newe fashions of liuinge, and newe rules shall  
arise, which shalbe allowed by oure chiefe byshoppe,  
though they be p'ayne contrary to the law of God, to  
Christ, to the grace of God, and to the gospel. And  
the professors of these rules, studying vnder a pzetee  
and



and shadowe of great holines, and perfectnes of religion to amplifie the dignitie of the chiefe Byshoppe, and commending it aboue the mone, as blynd leaders of the blynde, shall firste deceyue them selues, and afterwarde almost the whole vniuersall world. These newe monstrous creatures shall pzeache: these shalbe beleued, when they shall crye that the lawe of God is imperfect, and that their fathers haue fulfilled that, whiche was of God omitted, and haue ioyned many perfections to the lawe of God, not disclosed to the worlde as yet neither by the Prophetes, neither by Christe, neither by the Apostles, without the keeping of the whiche thynges menne canne not be perfecte. Furthermore they shal affirme and contend that men shal receaue the grace of God by thys most holye and stronge thyng called frewyl, and that they maye by the helpe therof kepe the lawe of god and fulfil his comaūdemētes full & whole. And besides these woꝝkes, which god hathe commaunded, that they be hable to do other woꝝkes of more perfection. And they shall hold þ̄ men maye make recompense sufficient to the goodnes of god, for al þ̄ giftes, which either they haue receaued or shal receyue at hys hand, how much so euer it be that they haue receyued. And that they can satisfie for all the synnes whiche euer they haue or shal committe and for what thyng els so euer it be, that they be bound to God for. And that they may of theselues deserue all maner of goodes bodely or gostlye, whiche either they haue, or shal receyue of god. So that they shal imagine them selues hable to deserue so much gloꝝy, that god is not hable to repay and rewarde the thyng that he oweth vnto them. And therfore shall they sell their merites to other mē  
as

as though they had superfluous, and to manye. And because they can neuer sell, or giue so many but that they shal alwayes haue a number remayninge, they shal make oure holy father the pope the inheritor of theyr merites, that he maye accomplyshe all thinges for all men requisit. And this riche treasurer of merites he shal sell wonderfull dearely in his Iubilies and pardones, & so fonde an opinion shal they haue, that they shal thike the selues hable to deserue gods fre electiō and shal thinke gods heuenly prouidence, and all thinges that belonge to saluacion to hange vpon theyr fre will, and vpon theyr pope.

Becke. Yf it be so as ye say, then is free wil a greate Lorde, & shalbe a bone god him selfe. For as I persceiue he shal either chose or refuse, healthe or condemnation like a lord, and god as his seruaunt shal minister occasions and tyme conuenient vnto him, so shal the will of god be lyke a bonde woman, and the wil of man like vnto a Quene, it shalbe necessary not that manne shal applye hys will to gods wyll: but that god shal applye hys will to mans wyl. Neither canne god chose men without the popes license. So that, incase god had neuer so reprobued, and relected any manne: and the pope (in whose hande all power is) myndeth to saue thesame manne, gods determination shalbe boyde. And so shal the pope be greater the Chyiste, and mannes fre wil also, because the whole saluacion of al man kynde shalbe in theyr owne power. But Chyiste aunsweringe the children of zebedee, of whome the one desired to syt on the right hand of Chyiste, and the other on the left, sayed: it was not in him to geue that thinge, because all hong vpon gods free election, and Chyiste also sayed not trewe when

U. i.

he



he so saied, for he shoulde haue graunted that al depended vpon the pope, and mans free wil.

**Luci.** Yf he werenot suche a one he shoulde not be Antichriste. And because the election of god dothe abase a man, & casteth hym down moze the any thing els, whiche thinge manne beinge naturally inclyned to esteeme highely himselfe can not abyde, therefore shal it be an easy thyng to perswade to menne, that al the whole matter hangeth vpon hys owne fre wil, and not vpon god. Therefore wil the pope neuer forsake thys office, to promote and further this our purpose by al the meanes that he canne, and that for many other causes, but chiefly for that mannes merites shall be as it were a grounde worke of all hys merchandise and bawtage. Howe beit that he maye the best r sell and vtter the, he shal mingle some merites of Christ amongst them, and shall boast that he hath the key of al these treasures, and ful authoritie to distribute, to apply, to sel, and to giue al at hys will and pleasure. And also a tyme there shall come, when the worlde shal beleue (because they shal thynke hym a god in earthe indued with mooste greate authoritie) that he can bothe bynd and loose, saue, or condempne when it shalbe hys pleasure. Howe maye ye easely perceauie whether menne wyl runne to hym or not, to bye heuen and paradise of hym. Oh howe many and howe abhominable fantasyes shall menne committe, when they shal saye to them selues: what care I of thys am I suer that I canne be absolved for money. What a number of soules shalbee damned, thinking to be saued by theyr own merites, by the popes pardones, and absolutions, because they shalbe without faythe and without Christ. Out of thys deuelythe  
foun

fontaine shal spring, subsidies, ratiōs, pardōs, absolū-  
ciōs, dispensaciōs, relaxations, & an infinit number of  
monstors, whiche dayly they shal deuise to sel Christ,  
and hys merites, and heuen and paradise with all.  
Furthermore we will cause that this oure mische-  
uouse paricide shal by his fraude and craft perswade  
Christian menne, that Christe with al hys merites,  
passion, death, and benefites be not sufficient to saue,  
(I will not saye the reprobred and reiected sorte) but  
euen the very chosen of god, be it that they beleue in  
Christe with neuer so lyuely a faythe. for they muste  
moreouer of necessitie confesse all theyr synnes bothe  
open & priuate, euen the very inward thoughtes  
and desiers, yea & all the braunches and circumstan-  
ces of them, and disclose al thinge whether they be to  
be spoken or not to a priest of hym apoynted.

**Becke.** This thinge is not possible to bee done for  
theyr synnes be innumerable.

**Luci.** Suerly oure priestes can not deuise a bet-  
ter waye to holde mens consciences in a perplexitie,  
doutefull, and vncerteyne. And so when men shal bee  
in a continual doutinge, whether they be in the fauor  
of god or not: they shal runne oft to oure prieste, and  
his gayne shall alwayes increase, in that he shal re-  
ceauē wel for his absolutions.

**Becke.** If there shoulde suche a tyme come, when  
I myght see Christian men disclosing theyr secretes  
euen suche, as be of greatiste weight, and that slaun-  
deringe them selues contrary bothe to the lawe of  
god, and the lawe of nature, and oftentimes also  
with no smal offence of their neighbour: to a wicked  
thiefe: & shoulde also suffer their wiues, their dought-  
ters, & sisters to open the botome of their hartes & mat-  
ters of no honesty, not alway to a gelded mā but most

¶.ii.

commonly



cōmonly to a vicious verlet. I would be bold to saye,  
they were the most foles in the vniuersall world. But  
tell me in good fayth, what profit shoulde inewe of  
this deuелиche folishenes, yf it shoulde bee brought in  
to our churche?

Beelze. Oh it should muche increase and amplyfie  
the honour of our byshop, and hys members, and bee  
a very greate gayne, and profit to hys churche. For  
then should men beleue that he by hys ministers did  
pardone synnes and not god, and that the same syns  
were not forgeuen by the vertewe of the passion of  
Christ: but by the vertew of the absolution that they  
herd the priest speake. And in confession, mentiō shal  
be made of all thinges sayng of Christ, and so shall  
we bury Christ together with his passion and death,  
a god with his grace. And more ouer what a greate  
commoditie shall it bee to the pope trowe you, when  
his ministers by thys means shall knowe all the se-  
crets of princes, I passe ouer how that in hearing of  
women secretly disclose theyr dishonestie, with al the  
circumstaunces thereof, and all vn honest thoughtes  
and desieres: suche confessours being inflamed with  
the comunicacion, and consideringe craftely howe  
theyr myndes bee inclined: will beginne many fayer  
and handsom snares, (which they may easely make)  
whereby to holde them, even as it were by the heere  
of the head, when they are once made pryue to thei-  
re secretes. And ye may furthermore gesse that priestes  
will not geue theyr labour in absoluing for god hane  
mercy: but will rather sell it for no small some of mo-  
ney. And they shal also require them to doe the pe-  
naunce that they haue inioyned them. Whiche thing  
shal make muche for theyr commoditie, and also pro-  
fyt

fyt not a lytle to theyr holy churche of Rome.

And thys thyng also shalbe with out doubt, that the Pope beinge desirefull of parte of the gayne shall reserve many matters, and offences, from the whiche no manne waye be absolued but at Rome of the Pope hymself, or els of his confessours appoynted there, so that money must walke largely.

Beelze There be also many sely olde wyues, whiche haue breathes that saour not al the best, I meruaile howe the confessours shall tary to heare the rekening of all their faultes

Lucie They shall dispatche suche quickly with two or thre wordes, with out tariaunce in searchynge out the bowelles and botome of euery vice, as they shall doe with the yonger women.

Beelze. And howe I praye you may we bryng it to passe, that thys confession maye bee vsed amongst menne:

Lucie. Ye knowe well that christian menne, whiche be troubled in conscience, be strayght wont to runne to some learned manne for counsell, howe they maye haue liuely faythe, and be increased and established in the same, howe they maye take hede to themselves from sinne and be perfect, whome the sayed learned menne absolue, that is, they shewe them by goddes worde, that they be absolued, yf they beleue in Christ: and so he geueth them counsell, and sheweth them the light of trueth. Ye knowe also that suche, as bee excommunicated be wonte after repentaunce to come to the priest, and shewe hym that they be sozry for their offences, who perceyvinge that it is true, absoluieth them, and doth notifie to the whole congregacion, that they be absolued and amēded, by the meanes wherof they shalbe receyued of al men as brethren. Then doe they

U.iii.

inioyne



inioyne them penaunce for their publyke offences,  
whiche they haue committed, not that they canne sa-  
tisfie in the syghte of God by that penaunce, before  
whose throne Chzist hath made sufficient satisfactiō,  
but to be an example to other, & neither they, nor anye  
other committe the lyke any more. These wilbe good  
and handsome beginninges, whereby to bryng in by  
lytle and lytle oure confession. For we wyll persuaade  
menne, that the priest muste knowe their consciences,  
that they maye be absolved of their synnes. And then  
wyll they tell all theyr offences both open and secret,  
yea and they will beleue that they be absolved not by  
Chzist, but per opus operatum (that is) by the worke  
that is wrought of confessing, that is to say: for the  
remembryng of their synnes, for the shame, wherewith  
they be touched in tellynge their synnes, for the con-  
tricion, for the absolution of the priest, for & penance to  
thē inioyned, & for the Popes pardons. Neither nede  
you to doubt, whether the Byschoppe will bee content  
with this confession, for he wyll gladly commaunde  
it to all chzistian men. and & it maye be the more este-  
med, he shal boast and lye that he receiued it of Chzist,  
with suche a commendacion that he ought to be bur-  
ned, whiche denyeth it to be of the lawe of God. But  
thys thyng I would haue not vnknown vnto you,  
that suche menne as be oppressed with tyranny they be  
deliuered by death from all boundage and seruitude,  
yf they be not deliuered before. But as for the poore  
chzistians, though they dye, yet canne they not by any  
meanes auoyde the tyranny of our Pope, for at that  
tyme especially they be snared, that is to saye, in the  
houre of deathe, and bee taken prisoners in a place  
(where or what it is I can not tel) named purgatory.  
This

This purgatorie shalbee buylded by oure Pope full  
of flame & fire, whereof he onely shal haue the keyes  
out of whiche place no man can gette out ones the  
Pope lycence hym, and yet paying a sūme of money,  
whereof shal so much gayne arise, that the profyt of  
that only shalbe more vnto hym then of al the reste of  
his promotions & benefices. *Beelze*. And who is that  
shal come in to this purgatorie of theyrs: they, which  
dye in faith, or out of faythe? *Luci*. They that dye in  
faythe, for all the other be ours without purgatorie.  
*Beelze*. Then is not god with his grace enough for  
such, neither Christ with his lyfe, passion, and death,  
neither the helpe of so many sainctes, neither his own  
merites, nor confesseiō, nor contricion, nor satisfactiō,  
nor absolution, nor all the penaunce in the worlde,  
neither Iubilies neither yet pardons. *Luci*. In this  
our confused kingdome of Babilon all thinges must  
be doutful and vncertaine. *Beelze*. What? our faith in  
Christ also? *Luci*. That shalbe altogether doutful, for  
this shal they take as a chiefe article of theyr faythe,  
that euery manne ought to dout of hym self whether  
they be chose or not: whether god hate the or fauour  
them: whether Christe died for them or not: yea and  
though he died for the neuer so, yet whether he satis-  
fied for theyr sinnes or not? *Beelze*. And how can they  
establyshe this purgatorie of theyrs? *Luci*. Our word  
shalbe theyr ground. *Beelze*. Howe?  
*Luci*. I wil shewe you, when you shall oblesse any  
man, and theyr priestes and fryars come with theyr  
coniuringes to coniuere you, ye shall saye that ye  
be the soule of some of theyr acquaintance, whiche  
died longe agone, and remaine to this daye in a place  
ful



full of flames and fyer that they cal purgatory, wher  
you must remayne until they synnes be cleane pour-  
ged, and that ye shal sone bee deliuered if they wyll  
procure a certayne number of masses to bee sayed for  
you, & yf they once promise you to doe so, then ye wyll  
for a testimonie of the matter trouble no more the  
partie so obsessed, whiche thyng ye shal perforce, yf  
it be promised. Then when menne shal perceyue it  
to be a matter in good earnest, they shal thynke, it to  
be so in dede. And priestes, and monkes shal fauour  
much the matter for the great gaynes, that they shal  
haue therby. Yea, and they shal so fauoure it, that in  
continuaunce of tyme it shalbe made an article of the  
faythe, though it be a thyng most wicked. And they  
shalbe rewarded with fagot and fyre that wyll ad-  
uenture to speake one worde agaynst it. And also they  
shal perswade the vnlearned that thys fonde flame-  
les fyre of purgatorye maye bee proued by the holy  
scriptures. And here lykewise shal the popes autho-  
ritie bee required, that it maye bee stretched out to  
purgatory.

*Beelze.* We thought I herde you speake of masses,  
what thynges they be I can not tell. Wherefore my  
desire is to knowe what kyndes of creatures these  
masses bee.

*Luci.* Truly of other thynges, y belonge to y popes  
dominion, the masse is both most holy, and most pesti-  
lent, In the outwarde shewe, and shynninge, and  
beutie it shalbe most holy: but yet in dede most pesti-  
lent. Ye know right wel that the Lordes supper was  
instituted of Christ in the remembraunce of hys pas-  
sion, & being distributed, as it shoulde be in loue and  
apostolicall simplicitie was a thyng, and is to thys  
Daye

day, that hath brought muche comfort, and consolaci-  
on to the chosen of God. But now we our holye father  
shall not onely chaunge the substances of it, but also  
chaunge the accidentes of it in the masse. So that the  
supper of the Lorde shall no more bee the supper of  
the Lorde, neyther in substance, neither in fashion,  
neither in lykelyhod, neither in the we: but it shall bee  
all together contrarie and enemy to it selfe, and full  
of wickednes and supersticion. For whereas the Lorde  
des supper was first ordeyned of Christ to cal agayne  
the passion of Christ to the remembraunce of the faith-  
full: they, to blot out that excedyng greate benefit of  
Christe, shall boast that they offer Christe agayne to  
his father in their masses, not for the quicke onely, but  
also for the dead: as though they shoulde saye. Whe  
Christ offered hymselfe once vpon the crosse to his fa-  
ther, he made not satisfaction sufficiently enough for  
the synnes of all man kynde, wherefore we offer hym  
agayne da ply, & naye him agayne vpon the crosse, de-  
siring the saintes to helpe hym, to make his oblation  
perfect. And where as Christ in the institucion of hys  
supper appoynted bread and wyne, whose example  
hys ministers shoulde folowe, teachyng what thing it  
is, and to what ende, as Christ dyd, and exhortyng o-  
ther that they shoulde lift vp their myndes into hea-  
uen being stirred by thys heauenly Sacrament, that  
they shoulde haue their eye set vpon Christ onely, and  
so by faythe to vse hym for a heauenly foode of their  
soules: they to auance their dignitie and authoritie,  
and to cause themselves to bee accounted goddes in  
yearth, shall persuaade menne falsly, that libertie to mi-  
nister that Sacramēt is onely graunted to the anoynt-  
ed, haue, & oyled priestes of þe pope, that þe supper of  
the Lord shall be translated by that heade of abomi-  
nacion the Pope, in to the masse. And they shall boast

¶.i.

that



þ these fat masse mongers wylth pronoūcing certeyne  
wordes, (what they be I can not tell) as it wer in an  
inchauntment haue not only by & by cōsecrated, but  
also transfozmed & transubstantiated þ breade into  
þ boby & þ wine into þ blude of Christ. This wil they  
doe not only to increase theyr estimacion, but also þ  
men beinge deceaued by eatyng that host, although  
they bee without faythe, shall thinke they possesse  
Christ clothes, heere & al. Yea they shall bring men into  
the belefe, that by the only hearynge of one of these  
masses, or seyinge the hoste lyfted vp, moste plentiful  
grace and pardone (as they call it) shall bee graunted.  
And lyke erraunt cheues, they shall robbe the laytie  
of the cuppe, that is to say of the one halfe of the sup-  
per, agaynst the expresse word of god, to declare that  
they be moze worthe meene and in higher authori-  
tie, and that there is a greate difference betwene the  
cominon people and the popes anoynted. They one-  
ly shall be fed in theyr priuat masses, whome they shall  
not be ashamed to sell for money. And they shall kepe  
the breade so by them consecrate in a boxe as it were  
in a prisō, & that shall they set forth to the people to be  
worshipped as a god. And they shall not only cary it  
about in theyr pompes and open shewes: but it shall  
goe before the pope as though it were hys foote mā.  
To be short: Though the lordes supper be a thinge  
moste holy, yet being chaunged into the masse it shall  
be a thing most pestilēt. Moreover the supper, which  
was ordeyned of Christe to be vnto all Christian mē  
as a pledge of his promes, praece, & concord: the same  
being once abused shall bee the original & well spryng  
of al discorde, diffencion, contenciō, heresies, & sectes,  
for the diuerse and sundrye opinions that men shall  
haue

haue of the same Sacramente. Wee will also make a  
lawe that these priestes anoynted by the pope shall  
haue no wyues.

Beelze. Why I praye you

Luci. That they maye appeare outwardly alto-  
gether heauenly, and celestiall lyke aungels, so that  
therefore menne shall meruayle moze at them, and set  
the moze store by them. Yea and mozeouer that the  
pope, & not they? childre may bee they? inheritoz. But  
chiefely that they maye be without the troubles, that  
chaunce in matrimonye and beinge at libertie vnder  
this coloure, maye committe al kyndes of fylthenes,  
that euer was done in all the world.

Beelze. Thinke you they wil condemne mariage?

Luci. They shall saye it is a wicked thinge. And  
thoughe it be agreable to nature, ordeyned of god,  
confirmed of Christe: yet shall they forbyd it to they?  
nonnes, monckes and priestes, & to all they? other  
creatures. Yea and at certeyne tymes they shall for-  
bid it to all menne, and in certayne degrees, that they  
themselues haue deuised, that by the meanes therof  
they may get a greate sūme of money for dispensati-  
ons. And at certayne tymes they shall forbid whol-  
some meate to be eaten, which god hath created to be  
vsed to his glozy, and to bee taken with thanks ge-  
uinge. At certeyne times of the yere he shall not suffer  
them to eat but once in the daye. But all these thin-  
ges shall notwithstandinge bee despensed with al for  
money. He shall make of thys sorte an infinit number  
of other preceptes, whiche he wyl say be necessary to  
saluacion. And so in making new articles of the faith  
he shall wander through al heresies, which by mans  
iudgement and wisdom haue a certeyne lyklyhode

X.ii.

to



to set forth the goddes gloꝛye moze woꝛthelye. And to  
comprehende thys large matter in fewe woꝛdes: I  
wil apply al the powers of my wytte, that thys crea-  
ture of ours may doe muche moze hurt to the soules  
of menne, then Chꝛyste hymselfe dyd good. And it is  
not to be doubted, but that we wil make of this church  
a very Babilon. Trewe it is, that a thing of

suche holynes can not be brought in a  
moment sodaynly to the highest

Degree of abhominacio, wher-

foze in this noble myschief

we must goe forwarde

by litle and litle, let-

tinge none occasi-

on slip, & oportu-

nitie of

tyme shal offer vnto vs. Nowe ther-

foze shal you haue my lycence to

departe, requiringe you to

loose no tyme

Beelze. We wil doe your

commaundement.

(3.)

Mychael.

Gabziell.

Christe.



CHRIST.

Ye angels, see you not howe a mortall manne in earthe, beinge moſte vicious, and abhominaci- on it ſelfe, with no ſmal iniurye and contempte of god aduentu- reth to ſettel himſelfe in the holy place, and to boaſt himſelfe to be my Vicar, and the vniuerſall head of my church? See you not howe vnder that pretence he hath cru- cified me agayne: and buried me agayne with all my greate benefites: my goſpell, and my grace? See you not howe he hath defiled, and infected the holy church my welbeloued ſpouſe, whome I my ſelfe haue redeemed, waſhed and clenſed, with myne owne proper bloude?

Mich. We ſee all together, and mernayle true- ly very much howe ye could ſuffer (now aboue foure hundreth yere) ſuche horrible abhominacions.

Chriſt. Althoughe the iudgements of god be for the moſt parte hid from the knowledge of humayne creatures: yet muſt they be taken, as they be in dede, to be righteous and holy. For the wyll of God, as it is moſte ryght, of neceſſitie, it is not onelye impoſſi- ble that it ſhoulde erre it ſelfe, but alſo it is a rule of all other willes, and therefore muſte euery creature take it for beſte reaſon. And yet one cauſe canne I brynge whye god woulde ſuffer ſo muche euell to reigne ſo longe ſpace.

X.iii.

Mich.



**Mich.** We take the unkyndnes of manne to haue deserued these great mischiefes, & that so it ought to be, y god shoulde suffer the so to fall, as they haue falle into so great euill, darkenes, heresies, and michiefes, because they loued not thee, as they ought, thou being the chiefe lyght, trueth, wisdom, lyfe, and ryghteousnes: neither woulde they obey thy worde.

**Christ.** There be many causes, why god hathe so suffered thys longe space: But the chiefe is, that he woulde make his glozy more notable. And you know that durynge the reygne of thys Antichrist not one of the elettes haue perished. Seinge they be in the handes of me, and my heauenly father none shall take the from me, neither canne anye of them perishe. And ye knowe also that thys wicked abhominacion with all hys malice, craftes, fraude, suttelties, errours, deceytes, prodicions, offences, euyl examples, michiefes, promises, flatterynge, rewardes, thzetynges, slanders, persecucions, tormentes, and deathes haue not hurte any whit in any one poynt the soule of any one of my chosē: But their malice hath rather made mine more glorzyous, in that their vertue hath ben tried, as golde in the forname: and those, that be false christians by thys profe be declared to be hypocrites. And therefore, whether he wyll or not, I haue bled hym as an instrument and a seruaunt for the larger setting forth of goddes glozy. And more ouer, God woulde haue all the deuilles of hell, and all euil menne, to abuse thys head of theirs to the distruccio my of kyngdom, by deceate and violence, that I being moued by that occasion shoulde withstande ouercome, and destroye, thys head of abhominacion, and triumphe worthelye of hym, as ye shall shortly see, by the whiche victorie

I myght set fozthe moze clearely the power and wif-  
dome of God. Marke therfore now and ye shall see,  
how that in destroyeng of hym, & he may be destroy-  
ed w<sup>th</sup> moze ignominie, I wyll not vse my power but  
the bare worde of my ministers, wherby I wyll dis-  
close these great mischiefes, and wyll lighten their  
mindeſ with the knowledge of the truerhe. I knowe  
that menne wyll then open their eyes, and when they  
shall perceyue that they haue bene ſo longe tyme bu-  
ried in ſuch darkenes of ignorance, in that they haue  
wurſhipped abhominacion it ſelfe in ſtede of God:  
they wyll humble themſelues vnder the ſtronge  
hande of God, and ſhall know what a miſerable crea-  
ture manne is and what he canne doe when he is de-  
ſtitute of God, into howe many danngers he fallethe  
headlonge, and howe neceſſary a thing the grace of  
god is foz hym. Nowe be all miſchiefes and abhomi-  
nacions come euen to the hieſt ſtate and degre, that  
they canne come, the meaſure is full, their wickednes  
excedeth and is ſpread ouer all: therfore muſt I no  
lenger ſuffer. foz as I haue promiſed, I muſte and  
wyll ſhorten theſe wofull dayes of malice foz the loue  
of my choſe. I muſt diſcloſe thys wycked head of this  
abhominacion to hys confuſion and goddes glorie.  
foz as I haue ſayed before, there is nothyng hidden  
but muſt be reueled. Ye ſhal ſee & when as I toke mā-  
hod vpon me, and appeared viſible into the world al-  
thoughe ſynne reygned ſtirred vp by the lawe, and  
ruled all, with a great force and power, yet I in dy-  
inge vpon the croſſe had the victory and ouercame va-  
liantly all the enemies of God: euen ſo nowe wyll I  
triumphe of thys ſhameles and wycked head of ab-  
minacion. fyrſt and fozmoſt I wyll deſtroye the tyran-  
niſcall

Mat. xxiii.  
Math. x



nicall dominion, whiche he hathe wrongfully vsed in  
the simple consciences of menne: and afterwarde will  
I take awaye from hym hys temporall power. And  
to hys further rebuke: Euen as the worlde hath ta-  
ken him for a god in earthe thys long space: so wyll  
I nowe cause the worlde to acknowledge hym, to be  
the moste wicked tyzant, that euer was, or euer shal-  
be amongst menne. You myne angels, that bee ap-  
poynted to the ministry of my chosen, ye shall doe  
your deuoties diligently. And to the Gabriel: as thou  
wast sente to Daniell to tell hym the tyme of the cō-  
minge of Messias, and afterwarde also to zacharie,  
to signifie vnto hym the commying of my fore runner  
John the Baptist, and laste of all to my mother to de-  
clare vnto her my concepciō, so shalt thou now goe to  
Henry the eighte kinge of Englande, in whose heart  
thou shalt prync, and perswade that all delayes set  
a parte he dryue thys cruell tyzant out of all his real-  
mes and dominions.

Gabri. Forsooth we wyll gladlye (o lord) and with  
a swyftenes of spirit performe your cōmaundemēt,  
Christ. Ye shall vnderstande that Henry the eyghthe  
shall deliuer hys dominions from the tiranny of thys  
mischieuous robber, and he shall not vtterly cense it  
from ydolatry & supersticion, whose rotes be further  
enteryd in to the heartes of menne, then that they can  
be pulled out agayne at the first plucke: For he shall  
not long lyue after thys valiant interprise attempted.  
But I wyll gyue hym a sonne named Edward the  
sixte, and because he shalbe one euen after myne own  
heart, indwed with sundrye godly giftes, as one that  
shall loue me vnfaynedly, and shall perceyue howe  
manye and dyuerse wayes he is bounde to God, he  
shal

Dan. ix. c. x. c.

Luke. i.

Shall not abide this great and rancke enemye of mine.  
Therefore folowynge hys fathers steppes he shall  
pouge all hys kyngdomes, and dominions from all  
the supersticion and ydolatry of Antichrist. I wyll be  
allwayes with hym, neither shall he want of my fa-  
uour, grace, and defense at any tyme, and he shall haue  
a Christian protectour, whom I will vse as a meane,  
and instrumente, and very fyr messenger betwixt me  
and the kinge to performe thys my purpose, whome  
I wyll geue vnto hym, a very valiant manne both in  
noblenes, and in bpryghtnes of mynde, and a singu-  
ler louer and frende of right religion. By whose wis-  
dome and grautie I wil haue myne Edward to be  
instructed, and brought vp euen from hys chylldhod,  
that all the dayes of hys lyfe he may haue continuall  
warre with al thinges, that shall displease god. This  
chosen instrument of myne shall be the fyrst that shall  
bende his speare agaynst the fornamed myne unpard-  
onable enemy. Whose wonderfull example mooste  
worthye to be folowed of all other, the reste of the  
princes of Christendome shall be astonied to beholde:  
and shall applye them selves to folow his enterpryse,  
beinge incouraged by hys worthye vertue. Neyther  
shall it be nedefull for hym to vse any violence wher-  
by to purge his kingedomes of these michiefes, lyes,  
heresies, supersticions, Simonies, ydolatries, wic-  
kedneses, & betraying of soules, wherewith þe whole  
worlde was replenyshed by the meanes of thys  
abhomynable thefe. For all these thynges though  
they bee very haynouse, shall vanyshe awaye sodain-  
ly, and be brought to nothing at the comynge of the  
lyght of my worde, whiche he shall allwaye vse as a  
continall burninge light, bothe in this and all other

P.i.

his



his doinges. Happy therfore shall you Englishe men  
bee, in that ye shall frame all youre affayres ear-  
nestly to goddes glozve to the saluacion  
of hys chosen electes, and my  
worthye triumphe.

Mich. So shal  
it be.

∴

Henry the eyght.  
papist.  
Thomas Archebischoppe of  
Cantorbury.



We haue sent for you in to oure Henry.  
pysence, as for men, whiche haue  
more knowledg in þ scriptures  
and olde wryters then the rest of  
oure realme, to resolute vs of a  
dout, that is come to our minde.  
Therefore two thynges we re-  
quier of you, the one that euerye  
of you saye hys mynde frankelye and frely, what he  
thinketh, without respecte of fauoure or displeasure  
to any manne lyuyng. And the other, that ye kepe it  
secrete, and disclose not one worde of the thynges,  
that shalbe here reasoned. For it is a matter of great  
weight, & toucheth our honour, wherfore we charge  
you so longe to keepe counsell vntill the truethe bee  
known, and that you haue lycense of vs to open it.  
There is a thought entred into oure head, which we  
bee perswaded cometh of god: That the Pope who  
heretofore hath bene taken for a god in earth, is ve-  
ry Antichrist, and if we had certayne knowledg that  
this thinge were trewe, we would, as we are bound,  
banne him out of al the coastes of oure kingdome,  
not onely because he should no more robbe vs of our  
threasure: but muche rather, lest he shoulde any lon-  
ger exercise tyranny in mens consciences, and bring  
suche a number of soules in daunger of everlastinge  
damnacion. Yf he were the bycar of Christe in dede,  
p.ii. we



we woulde be his louyng chldzen from hence forth,  
as we haue bene in tymes past. Saye now euerý of  
you youre myndes soberlye, and trewlye, what he  
thinketh.

Papí. I can not but meruayle very muche, when I  
heare youre princely maiestie make a doubt & questi-  
on of matters, that bee mosse cleare, questionles, and  
certaine. I can not perceaue & it is lawfull to thinke,  
muche lesse to speake of suche a matter without do-  
inge God open wzonge. For such holy thinges, as the  
popehod is, ought to be worshipped, and not dout-  
ed vpon and called in question.

Her. A trueth: if it be a truth, the diligentlier it is  
discussed and examined, the clerer the bryghter, and  
more plaine it appeareth. Therfore when we dispute  
of thys matter trueth hath no wzonge, but rather a  
benefit. Therfore if the pope bee in dese Christes bi-  
car in earthe, the more seriously this trueth is reaso-  
ned of, the more plētifully shal it be published abrode,  
and ail men shal more gladly & redely receaue it. So  
that we will neither do the pope wzonge, neither the  
truth, but shal rather shew thē both a singular pleas-  
ure. And it is not to bee dout-  
ed, but & heauely thinges must be worshipped, but now here is the questi-  
on, whether the popeship be a heauely thing or not:  
& thys is & matter, which we desier to haue discussed.

Papí. Peraduenture your maiestie doeth minde, to  
accuse al our forefathers, al kin, Domes, & al Christē  
men of heresie, by whose iudgement the pope hath  
alway bene, and is to this day, taken of Christes bi-  
car in earthe.

Her. That the trueth cōmeth to light, is not & cause,  
that maketh men herelikes, but rather de. iuereth thē  
from

from all error, deceyte, heresie, and betrayinge. And  
truely we desier nothing els, then to haue the trithe  
boulded forth by all meanes possible. In the ende of  
our disputacion, yf we shalbe assuered, that the pope  
is Christles vicar, we wyll so take hym, as we haue  
done hether to, and we shalbe muche more strengthe-  
ned in that opinion, without hurie of any creature.  
But if we shall perceaue the contrary: and be assured  
that he is Antichriste in dede, then surely wi. l. w. in-  
deuour our selues to ridde vs frō his tyranny, wher-  
in we haue lyued hether to taking him to be a certaine  
god in earthe. And also all other errors, and incōmo-  
diues muste be taken awaye, whiche sprynge out of  
this counterfecte belefe, and more ouer we wyll inde-  
uour oure selues to ridde other men also from the  
same. So that I se not what can come of this dispu-  
tation, but that shalbe good and godly.

**Pap.** Treuly we might worthely bee noted of a  
temerous arrogancie, if we should thinke our selues  
hable to knowe and iudge better then a number al-  
most infinit of worthie men both in religion and doc-  
trine, who without al question beleued the popeship  
to be a heuenly thing. And more ouer, what opinion  
shall we conceaue of an innumerable sorte of christiā  
mē, which either now be, or els hath ben in times past  
and haue died in this fayth, or liue therein this daye?  
Surelye in so weyghtie a matter it behoueth vs to  
leue of disputing, and fall to beleuinge.

**Hen.** Yf such as beleued that the popeship was an  
heuenly thinge were deceaued, it is playne that they  
were neither lerned, nor holy in that point. And ther-  
fore ought we in a matter of so great importaunce,  
to open oure eyes, and be wiser then they.



As for y<sup>e</sup> blind multitude, I thynke must not be follo-  
wed, who receyue that manifest errour for an arti-  
cle of their fayth: but yf suche, as beleued that the po-  
pe was Christes Vicar in earth, were not deceryed:  
but being in thys opinion thought well: Surely we  
wyll take them both for learned and holy. We minde  
not by thys our disputacion, to take from them one  
iote either of their wisdom or holynes, but we shall  
rather bee confirmed and strenghtened in the same  
good opinion, which we haue conceyued, bothe of the,  
and of the Popeshyp. Yf our intent be to overcome  
them with the lyght and knowledge of the trueth to  
goddes glorie: puttynge not our trust in our owne  
strength, but in the onely goodnes of god: our godlye  
studie muste not be called a temerous boldnes. Nei-  
ther doe I allowe the sayinge, that we ought simply  
to beleue it, that is to saye grossely for then shoulde  
the Turkes and Heretykes be excused. But as Paule  
sayeth, we must proue all, & take onely that is good.  
Papi. Surely as for my part, I can not perswade my  
selfe in my conscience, that I maye put my tongue in  
heauen, and dispute of the Popeshippe, as though I  
doubted of so great a matter.

Hen. Your diuines be not affrayed to put their mou-  
thes and tongues bothe in heauen, and to dispute in  
their scoles and bokes, whether God be or not: And  
y<sup>e</sup> same thing dare your preachers also, euē in the pul-  
pet, though there be none that doubteth of so many-  
fest a trueth, & yet standeth it not with your conscien-  
ces to reason in a bryefe disputacion of the Byshoppe  
of Romes primacie. Maye it euer come to passe or  
not, y<sup>e</sup> the Pope shalbe so muche greater and higher  
then God, that it shall not bee lawfull to speake of  
hys

hys primacie: And lawefull enoughe to dispute boldly of goddes essencie:

**Papista.** It is lawfull to dispute whether God bee or not: without any remorse of conscience, and without daunger, because the reasons, whiche be brought for the contrary parte bee so weake: and the other so stronge, cleare, and pithie, wherby it is proued that god is, that after suche disputacion meene remayne muche more assured. But there can not be a disputacion of the primacie of the Bysshoppe of Rome without prickynge of conscience, bycause thys thyng is not so cleare and euident as the other is, that is to say, that there is a God. And perhappes yf it shoulde come in question, we shoulde remayne in greater doubt, then we were before. Wherfore it shoulde seeme that it were better to lette the matter sleape, as it is, and not to question therof.

**Hen.** Then you your selues graunt that the Popeshyp is a doubtfull thyng, and agayne on the other syde ye woulde haue vs shut oure eyes, and beleue it, and imbrace it, and vndoubtedly to receyue it for an heauenly thyng. Yf the popeshyp were a thyng indifferent, whiche coulde neither hurte nor profyt the soule of manne, it shoulde seme no matter though we left reasonynge therof, and let it remayne quiet, as it is without disputacion. But for as muche as vpon the Bysshoppe of Rome hangeth oure saluacion, yf he be Christes Vicar in earth, as they say he is: and agayne yf he be not, vpon hym contrary wyse hangeth oure dampnacion: we haue determined to know the trueth of the thyng. And so muche the more desirouse be we to haue thys disputacion goe forewarde, for that we see you so earnest to refuse the same. We may be well assured

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assured that we shall offend God in no poynt of thys  
disputacion, yf wee doe all thynges soberlye with a  
meke spirite to the glory of God, hauinge alwayes  
goddes worde for our iudge, whiche is the onely, and  
euerlastyng rule of trueth.

**Papist** Bycause it semeth good to youre maiestye,  
that it be so, I for my part haue nothyng els to say,  
but that the byshoppe of Rome is Chrystes Vicar in  
earth with full power.

**Her** We knowe not whether he bee Chrystes Vicar  
or not, but to þ intent to haue a perfect knowledge  
therof, I haue sent for you. Of thys we be well assu-  
red, that the moste parte of them were excedyng vici-  
ous, we perceaue also that þ great ecclesiastical reue-  
nues, whiche of ryght belonge to the poozer sort of  
Christ, be by hym consumed and solde for ready mo-  
ney, and the cure of soules also, whome the sonne of  
god him selfe redeemed with the pryce of hys bloude.  
And they be not affrayed to committe so weyghtie a  
charge (euen the cure of soules) to the children, which  
be euil borne, and worse broughte vp: And to menne  
balearned, wicked, and vicious, to horse keepers, and  
to their ciuocedis, Sodomittical boies. We also know  
that he doeth not only sell his priuileges, relaxaciōs,  
composicions, and dispensacions: but hys Iublies,  
also, hys pardons, and remissions of synne, his ab-  
solucions, hys blessinges, hys masses, hys buryalles,  
hys Sacramentes, yea and the merites and bloude  
of Christ and heauen it selfe. And it is well known  
that they haue carped awaye great treasures out of  
our kyngdomes, we receyuyng nothyng agayne but  
ynke, and parchment, and seales of leade, vnder pre-  
sence of their buyldynges, and warres agaynst the  
infideles

Infideles they haue polled moze money from vs  
then all oure kyngdomes bee worthe. A blynde man  
maye see, what meanes they vse to robbe both quicke  
and dead. In so muche that of the house of God they  
haue made a denne of thieues. And all these thynges  
haue they done vnder a shadow of religiō, & a pretence  
of holines, Yf a man coulde open hys eyes, and loke  
vpon the discordes and strifes, whiche they haue so  
wen in all chřistendome, and see the bloude, they haue  
shed, the slaunders and offēces, they haue committed,  
the soules, they haue lost, and the vicious life of them,  
that wylbe called mooste holy, who ought to ieoparde  
their owne liues to pzoofit their neighbour. Yf (I say)  
he coulde see howe they be couered with fraude, vn-  
faythfulnes, and deceate, howe they trouble all the  
whole worlde with suche thunderynges in contenci-  
ons, as thoughe heauen and yearth went together,  
and all for none other cause, but to encrease their ye-  
rely reuenewes, to pzoferue their falsely pretended  
honour, and their bayne titles. Surely he would not  
iudge them to be the Vicars of Chřiste, but rather to  
occupie the ruome of the great deuyl of hell.

**Papista.** Be it that their workes were neuer so wic-  
ked, yet cease they not therfoze to be Chřistes vicars,  
yf their doctrine be sounde.

**Henry.** Yea mary, that is the thyng that we bee  
desirous to knowe, whether he be Chřistes Vicar oz  
not: Whether he be Antichřist oz not: Whether hys  
doctrine be true oz false: Whether we ought to wor-  
shyp hym, oz to banishe hym out of oure kyngdome.  
Therfoze of these thynges we be desirous to heare  
other incuners myndes

**Thomas arche.** When God determined to saue hys  
Z.i. electes



electes, firste he disclosed himselfe by a certayne light  
 shewed in the olde testament, by hys prophetes, and  
 holy men befoze he came into the worlde, and he myn-  
 ded so to doe not onely, bycause he woulde be knowne  
 a farre of, that menne shoulde put theyr trust in hym,  
 and so be saued: but also that at hys comynge he  
 myght be knowne agayne by thesame sygnes and to-  
 kens, and the gentlier receyued, of a lyke sort when he  
 determined for the larger setting forth of his glorie  
 to publish the triumph of Christ, & the perfect & happy  
 state of his electes: he paynted forth and expressed ly-  
 uely in the holy scriptures, that suche as haue benwo-  
 thelpe the name of christians muste haue one head in  
 earth full of abhominacion and wickednes, to the in-  
 tent that he beinge disclosed vnto vs, we shoulde not  
 only not gyue credit vnto hym, but shoulde by all mea-  
 nes possible shunne hys wicked tyranny. first therfore  
 as touchyng the place, god hath playnly declared vnto  
 vs, that he must be bozne at Rome. As Daniell the  
 prophet wrot, who discribed the foure monarches of  
 the worlde vnder a similitude of foure beastes, that  
 is to saye the Empire of Babilon, which was of the  
 Assirians, The empire of the Persians, of the Grece-  
 ans, and of the Romanes. And out of the head of the  
 fourth beast (that is to say) out of the head of the mo-  
 narchie of Rome, sprange a litle horne (that is to say)  
 Antichrist himselfe. Who hath so auanced his might  
 and power, that he hath broke the power both of the  
 other hornes, and also of the empire of Rome, and  
 hath preyayled agaynst the godlye. The same thyng  
 Paule the Apostle confirmeth, sayinge, befoze Anti-  
 christ be reueled, and appeare very stronge there muste  
 be a departinge, or goinge awaye, that is to saye, the  
 people

The place of  
 Antichristes  
 raigne.  
 Dani. vii.

ii. Thess. ii.

people must fall a waye, or departe from thobedience  
 of the Emper of Rome, as al holy men take it, wher-  
 fore of necessitie it must be grauted that he must haue  
 his seate at Rome, for he shal succede the Emperour  
 of Rome. Moreover John in hys Apocalipse setting  
 forthe the churche of Rome vnto vs, to bee not the  
 spouse of Christ, but of Antichrist, sayth: that he sawe Apo. xviii.  
 a certaine whore the mother of all vncleannes & ab-  
 homynation of all the worlde, gorgeously arrayed  
 with golde and stone, holdinge a cuppe of gold in her  
 hand, with whose migled liquour al the dwellers of  
 the earthe shoulde bee made dronke from the highest  
 to the loweste. And further thys whore shalbe made  
 dronke with the blude of Sainctes, & of the martyrs  
 of Christ. And vpon her forehed she had wrytten Ba-  
 bilonia. And lest any man shoulde doubt, whether  
 John spake of Rome, or not, he sayeth playnely that Apo. xvi.  
 the whore sat vpon seuen hilles, which thinge is wel  
 knowen to be agreable to Rome, wherupon it is cal-  
 led the citie of seuen hilles. Wherefore hys seat must  
 be at Rome. Whiche thyng is euident bothe by ho-  
 ly scripture, and also by Hierome in an epistle, that he  
 wrot to Fabiola agaynst Iovinian, to Marcella, to  
 Algasia, in the. 47. Chapter of hys commentaries  
 vpon Esay, and in the second Chap. vpon Osee. The  
 same thinge is confirmed by the authoritie of Tertu-  
 lian, wryting against the Jewes and the gentiles, in Cap. xxxv.  
 a booke of the resurrection of the body. And of S. Au-  
 gustine also in hys bookes de ciuitate Dei. In thesa- Li. 20. cap. 10.  
 me opinio also is Nicholas de Lyra vpo Daniell, &  
 many other besides. And if we wll way Pauls wor-  
 des diligently, we shall also knowe the tyme, wherein The tyme of  
 Antichrist muste be disclosed to the worlde. For wry- Antichristes  
 disclosinge

Z.ii.

tinge



ii. Thess. a. ii.

Dani. vii.

The proper  
ties and qua-  
lities of An-  
tichriste.

Ephes. iii.

Colo. ii.

ting to the Thessalonians, that thought Christ should shortly come to iudgement, and myndynge to brynge them out of that opinion sayeth, that there shall a departinge come before the daie of iudgement. That is to saye that men must fal from the Empier of Rome, as Hierom, Anselme, Theophilact, Bede, Dionise, & almoste all the rest of the interpreters take it. Trewe it is, that Paule spake thys thynge darkely lest he should offende mens myndes. Therefore then (sayth Paule) that great wycked bodye shall shewe forthe him selfe. Yea and he shall not onely succede especial- ly at Rome in hys owne strength: but also, as Dani- ell writeth, he shall destroye and brynge to nothyng the reste of the hornes, and strength of the Empier of Rome. So that we nowwe see playnely enough, that the people hathe not only shronke from the obedience of the Emperoure of Rome: but also that thempe- rours haue had no dominion in Rome more the this seuen hundreth yere. The byshoppes haue occupied the place in the stead of the Emperours, by the which byshoppes cheselye themperours power hathe bene minished. Wherefore we muste graunt that they bee ryght antichriste. Besides this Christe himselfe hath expressed, and paynted forthe Antichriste, and al his qualities in holye scriptures with so lyuely colours, that who so seeth the pope, & hath neuer so litle light of knowledg, and seeth his properties, can not chose but he muste also knowe that he is very Antichriste. And to speake sumwhat of hym generally: Euen as Christe is the heade of all hys electes, so shall Anti- christe be the head of al them, that be relected of god, whiche bee falsely named Christians. As in Christe all thresours of knowledg, and wisdom of god be hidden:

hidden : So in antichrist shalbe hidden with a couer  
 of hipocrisie al mischefes, craftes, and deceites, giles,  
 and falsnes, whiche be in the great deuell of hel him-  
 self. And mozeouer, as the holy gost is geue to Christ,  
 and powred into hym without measure and not hē-  
 med in with any boundes or limites : and as Christe John. i.  
 is full of grace and truerthe, yea in hym dwelleth all Colo. i.  
 fulnes of perfect vertue and perfection : So there  
 dwelleth in Antichriste, all vices, wickednes, abhor-  
 minations, deceytes, and lyes without all measure.  
 So that as Christe is the very trewe and lyuely  
 ymage of God, so shall Antichriste bee the very trew  
 and lyuely ymage of the deuell. Wherefore Esaye Esa. xi.  
 calleth hym the wycked one. Dauid also wyrteth Psal. x.  
 hym to bee the heade of all wyckednes. Danyell, and Dani. ix.  
 Christe hymselfe call hym abhomynacyon it self. ii. Thessa. ii.  
 Paule calleth hym the wycked manne, the childe of  
 perdition, not onely because he shalbee losse hym-  
 selfe, but because he shall also destroye all them that  
 shall folowe hys steppes and doctryne. And also  
 Saincte John called hym Antichrist, that is to saye,  
 a contrary enemye, and a repugnynge aduersarye to i. John. ii.  
 Christe: and beecause he especyallye aboue all other  
 creatures shall shewe hym selfe to bee an enemy and  
 an aduersarye to Christe: therefore in that hys ex-  
 dyngge contraryousnes agaynste Christe, he is cal-  
 led Antichriste. Nowe, as Christ was conceaued  
 of the holy gooste, and borne of the vyrgyne Marye:  
 So shall antichriste be conceaued of the spirite of the  
 deuil, & borne of Simony, & ambition, which shalbe in  
 the mindes of thē, & shal declare him pope. Then shal  
 & pope be created of & most corrupt & infected congre-  
 gation of people, that is, whom they cal Cardinales,  
Z. iiii. who



who as thonghe they were the very pillers of mischiefe, shal sustayne al the worlde, and all the wickednes therof vpon their shoulders. They saye thys order was created of god, when he sayed: The pillers of the earth be of the Lorde, and vpon them he layed the foundation of the worlde, hereby it is easie to be seen, whether they vnderstande rightly the holy scriptures, or els wyth the violently to their croked purpose. Who so shal reade their histories, and will diligently consider by what craft, hipocrisie, & dissimulation, fayre promises, gyftes, deceyt and prodicion, and suche lyke wicked meanes they haue achieved to thys Popeshyp, whiche they so muche desired, he shal easely perceaue of what spirite they were both conceived and begotten. Yea they haue gyuen themselves wholye to the deuill so þ they might once come to the Popeshyp: As it is playnely written of Siluester the seconde. He that could see by what spirite the Popeshyp was conceived in the myndes of menne, and appeared to the worlde: shoulde soone knowe whether it be a thyng of God, or of manne, or of the the deuyl. Foure hundredeth and foure score yeres after the birth of Christ, that litle hoene of Daniel, that is to say, the Byschoppe of Rome had but litle strength and power of manne, because they had none authoritie but onely in their owne dioceses, as other Byschoppes haue. But about the yere of our Lorde, 480. Odacer reigninge in Rome, it chaunced that Achatius Byschoppe of Constantinople (who then was placed first amongst the Byschoppes, and yet vsed no authoritie ouer them) woulde haue condemned Peter the Byschoppe of Alexandria of heresie. And bycause the Byschoppe of Rome for the worthynes of the Citie was then in  
some

some estimaciō : the Bythop of Constantinople wrote  
to Simplicius then being Bythoppe of Rome, desir-  
ynge hym that he woulde lyke wyse declare the By-  
thoppe of Alexandria an Heretyke. And of thys hath  
ambitious felowes taken occasion (br. worttely God  
he knoweth) to dispute of the authoritie of the By-  
thop of Rome. And so farre haue they gone forward  
in their ambicion, that they haue not bene ashamed  
falsely to contend, that they are the heades of al other  
churches. And on the other syde stode they, whiche  
toke partes with the Bythoppe of Constantinople  
affirmynge their Bythoppe, and not the Bythoppe of  
Rome to be the supreme head of all other churches.  
Thys ambitious contencion continued amongst  
these most holy fathers, a hundreth & twelue yeres.  
And at the last about the yere of our Lorde sixe hun-  
dredeth, when Maurice the Emperour was in Grecia,  
Ihon the Bythoppe of Constantinople gathered all  
the Bythoppes of Grecia togethyr at Constantino-  
ple, and there was the Bishop, of Constantinople and  
not the Bythop of Rome, ordeyned of them to be the  
Bythoppe of all other churches. But when Maurice  
wylled the Bythoppe of Rome to submitte hymselfe  
and hys church to the Bythoppe of Constantinople,  
Gregory who then was Bythoppe of Rome with-  
stode it, & called hym a fore runner of Antichrist. And  
thesame Gregory wrytynge to the Bythoppe of An-  
tioch & Alexandria, amongst al other thing sayth: ye  
knowe that in the counsell of Calcedon the tytyle of  
the vniuersall Bythoppe was offered to the Bythop  
of Rome, whiche he woulde in no wyse receyue, nei-  
ther was there any of our predecessors þ dyd vsurpe  
that tytyle. Yea euen then (as they saye) to confounde  
and



and rebuke þe pride of other, he began to be named the  
seruaunt of the seruautes of God. Howe be it hys  
successor, Geniface the thirde, a manne to ambiti-  
ous, and craftie, obteyned of Phocas the Emperour  
by suttill trayne the dignitie of a Pope. What maner  
of manne thys Phocas the Emperour was it appea-  
reth of hys historye. By violence, fraude, and treason,  
he came to the Empire, and caused Maurice the Em-  
perour most cruelly, and most wickedly, and his wife,  
and all his children to be kylled before his owne face.  
Thys was the holy manne, who first gaue this goodly  
creature of the Popehype to the world. And this is  
true, þe vntill the dayes of Constantine the fourth Em-  
perour, the Byshoppe of Rome was wont to be con-  
firmed of the Emperour. Howe be it at the request &  
intreatie of Genet the second of Rome, the foresayed  
Constantine graunted to þe Genet and hys successors,  
that they shoulde be receyued, and taken of all menne  
for Popes without the Emperours confirmacion.  
And so by litle & lytle they crepte vp so highe by their  
craftie diligence, that the Emperour must bothe bee  
confirmed, and crowned of the Pope, but yet it is ne-  
cessary that first he take an othe, that he wyll defende  
the Popehod. Therfore it is not harde to be knownen,  
what maner of spirite it was, that brought the pope-  
hype into the worlde, and howe the creacion of the  
Pope, and of the Popehype is contrary to the birthe  
of Christe. Namely when (as Paule writeth) Christe  
glorified not hymselfe, neither thrust him selfe to be a  
byshop, but takynge example of Aaron he taried vn-  
tyll he was called of hys father. But these men thrust  
themselves in violently vntyll they haue made them-  
selves not onely equall with Christe, but also aboue  
Christ

Christe. Christe beinge in the shape of god, dyd caste  
Downe hymselfe willingly, and would take the shape  
of a seruant vpon him: But this fellowe being in the  
forme of a man, whiche is a moste abiect and vile sin-  
ner, so prondly hath auauanced hymselfe alofte that  
he is not ashamed to bragge hym selfe to bee a highe  
light, and a god in earth. And if we will consider, and  
waye the lyfe, the maners, and the workes of Christ,  
and the pope, we shall fynde them alltogether quiet  
contrary the one to the other. Christe was innocente,  
poore, and would not trouble hymselfe with world-  
ly busineses, but was altogether bent to the helthe  
of soules, whome he desired to enrich with heuently  
threasure, he was meke, gentle, refusing both crown  
and kingedome, neuer had he any priuat affection of  
fauour, either towarde hymselfe, or others his kins-  
folke, or towarde any manne luyng, beinge infla-  
med with a great force of the heuently spirit alwayes  
sought he the glory of God the father eternall. He  
was a peacemaker, sober, subiecte to all men for the  
honour of hys father: mercifull, and very prone and  
redye to be pitifull, and therefore he wept vpon Hieru-  
salem, he was godly, chastyte, chaste, most liberal,  
full of loue, and all other vertues. But al the popes  
be in all poyntes diuerse, & quite contrary to all these  
vertues of Christe. For there is a rotten donge-  
hill, and puddell within them of all uncleannes, wick-  
kednes, and mischefe, as it is ryght well knowen to  
them, that haue any knowledg of them, that be now  
a dayes, and reade the hystories and lyues of them,  
that be past: and all though they be very contrary to  
Christ in these thinges, that I haue spoken of, more  
then other men be, that is to say, in all outward actiō

A. i.

of



of vertue, yet in theyr doctrine, & certayne other theyr  
wicked abhominations they bee moſte wycked, and  
moſte contrary of all. For there be certayne wicked-  
neſſes peculier vnto them, which be of exceeding great  
weyght, & be ſo hainouſe, that they be mete for none  
other, but for theſe theues onely. Wherefore it is be-  
re neceſſary to graunte them onely to be the very and  
chief antichriſtes for theſe only be they, who corrup-  
tinge the ſcripture, and withſtandynge the expreſſe  
word of god, haue plucked Chriſt with theyr wicked  
handes out of hys highe and gloriouſe ſeate, and yet  
not being contented with that horryble miſchief they  
haue caſte downe, oppreſſed, and buried, and haue  
banished quit out of the eyes, and memories of man  
the redemer of all mankind, and haue placed them-  
ſelues in Chriſtes ſeat, gyvinge to themſelues, and  
with force challenginge lyke tyrannes, all that dig-  
nitie, whiche pertaineth to Chriſte alone. Yea they  
haue made themſelues aboue Chriſte. So that in  
concluſion, they woulde not only ſeeme equal to god,  
but alſo haue auanced them ſelues with a deuiliſhe  
and intollerable boldnes aboue god. That this thing  
is, as I ſaye, it is euident. For the bodye of Chriſtes  
church hath but one heade, otherwyſe it ſhoulde  
bee a monſtrouſe deformed thyng, the lyke wher-  
of hath not been hearde of: and ſhoulde not bee a  
body knit together with a trewe propozcion of the  
membres. But Chriſte is the trewe, and onely heade  
of his church, a Paule doth playnely wyte, that out  
of thys heade is the ſpirite, lyfe, lyght, and righte-  
ouſnes powred into all the other membres of the  
choſen. For he is our lyfe, lyght, and righteouſnes.  
Nowe on the othersyde the pope ſayerh: I am the  
heade of the church militant; If ye wyl haue lyght,  
and

**Eph. iiii.**

**Iohn. xiiii.  
Iohn. viii.  
1. Cor. i.**

and knowledge of heauenly thynges, ye muste come  
 to me. For I onely am a boue all learned and holye  
 menne, aboue the counselles, and aboue holy scrip-  
 tures it selfe, yea and also aboue youre fayth. Where-  
 fore ye must beleue accordinge to my worde, and al-  
 though the wordes of holy scripture be the wordes  
 of god, yet must they be expounded and declared af-  
 ter my fashyon, and as I say. I am onely he, whiche  
 canne not erre. Wherefore as concerning matters of  
 faythe every manne ought to shut his eyes, and truste  
 to my worde, and sticke thereunto vndoubtedly. The  
 pope sayeth more ouer: yf any manne bee deade in the  
 sight of god, and a synner, let hym come to me, and  
 out of hand by the helpe of my absolutions, and par-  
 dōs he shal liue, and be made rightuouse in the sight  
 of god. As though he shoulde saye, I am your light  
 and rightuousnes, and not Christ. What thinge doth  
 pulle Christe violently out of his place, and thrust in  
 hymselfe, if thys doe not: Christe is oure chiefe and  
 everlasting priest, as it is wrytten of him. Who, whē  
 he had once offred hymselfe vpon the crosse, founde  
 out everlastinge redemption for vs, and satisfied for  
 oure synnes, and pleased the wrath of god the father  
 for ever: The pope sayeth I am the chiefe byshoppe  
 of the church of Christ, & sacrifice that Christ made  
 was not sufficyent to satysfye for synne, and pacify  
 the wrath of God. And therefore haue I ordeyned  
 the sacrifice of the masse, and other offeringes, and  
 meritorious workes. To doe thus is not onely to  
 plucke Christ out of his place, & put in him selfe: but it  
 is also a manifest confession that Christe was not an  
 imperfecte prieste, because that with hys sacrifice  
 he made not sufficyent satisfaction for oure synnes,  
 neyther pacified the wrath of god enoughe, and  
 therefore

Aa.ii.

Psalm. cxi.  
Heb. v.

Heb. x.



1. Timo. ii.  
John. viii.  
1. John. ii.  
1. Cor. i.

Act. iiii.

Mat. vi.

John. viii.

therefore hath he neede of the Popes helpe yea, and  
it is also a confession, that the holy goste in holy scrip-  
ture was a lyer, whiche thinge is nothinge elles, but  
a mynde to place himselfe aboue god. For the pope  
canne neyther lye, neither erre in matters of faythe,  
and god dyd bothe lye, and erre by hys confession.  
Chyste, also is the onely mediator betwixt god and  
manne, as it is witten. No manne commeth to the  
father, but by thys mediator, he is the waye and the  
gate, that leadeth to God, he is oure aduocat, oure  
propiciacion, oure holynes, oure redemption and  
helthe. He onely is oure Iesus, and saulour, neither  
is oure saluacion in any other, but in hym onely, as  
Peter wyrteth. And therefore Chyste calleth all  
menne to hym, sayinge come to me all ye, that labour  
and be burdenid with the burden of synne, and I wil  
geue reste and quietnes vnto you. who so thirsteth  
for saluacion, let hym come to me, and he shalbee re-  
freshed. But the Pope contrarywise sayeth, I am he,  
by whome ye may pacifye the wraethe of god, by me  
onely, and by my ministers ye maye obteyne remissi-  
on of youre synnes. I am the waye, that leadeth to  
heauen, I haue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen.  
I canne open and shute at my pleasure, to whome,  
when, and after what sorte it shall please me. By  
me onely ye maye haue lyfe everlastynge, and god  
wylbee mercifull, and pleased with you. Neyther  
wyl I that ye shall haue Chyste alone youre medi-  
ator and aduocat in heauen: but I wyl that ye chose  
some amongst them, that bee dead, suche as lyke  
you best, so that they bee canonized by me, and take  
them for your mediators, intercessours, proctours,  
aduocates, and patrones. I wyl also that ye seke  
for

for your saluacion not in Christe alone, (thoughe  
 Peter saye playnly that it canne be founde in none o-  
 ther) but chiefly in me, in my absolucions, benedictions,  
 and pardons, and in your owne workes also, and in  
 the merites, and intercession of Sayntes. Wherefore  
 come to me, all that be troubled with sorowe of con-  
 science, and in me ye shall finde peace. Nowe whether  
 all these thynges be most cruell, wicked, and blaphe-  
 mouse or not, he maye easily perceyue, that is not al to-  
 gether blynde. Therfore it is most true, that Daniell Dant. vii.  
 sayed speakynge of hym, that he shoulde bee suche a  
 shameles blasphemor, that he should speake agaynste  
 God hymselfe. And we also knowe, that accordynge  
 to the doctrine of Paule every christian manne is the  
 temple of god, and of a lyke sort the congregacion of  
 the faythfull, is called the churche of God: and we se  
 that the Pope reygneeth in the heartes of some chris-  
 tian men, which worship him euen now, as their God.  
 And also wee see not onely howe he reygneeth in the  
 heartes of sundrye menne, but also in the myddest of  
 the churche militant as the supreme of all creatures.  
 Therefore it is fullye accomplyshed and performed,  
 that Paule spake of hym, when he wrote þ he should ii. Thess. a. ii.  
 sitte in the temple God (not in the temple buylded  
 by mannes handes at Hierusalem: but in þ heartes of  
 men, and in the militant church of Christ) as though  
 he were God, and braggeth hymself before menne as  
 very God. And bycause these thynges, whiche Paule  
 sayed, can not be applied to none other in the worlde:  
 it must of necessitie be graunted, that he onely is the  
 same ryghte and great Antichriste, and the very selfe  
 same horrible abhominacion of whom Christ prophes-  
 cied that he should stablishe hys seat in the holy place. Ag. at. xxiii.

Ala. iii.

Neither



Neither was it ynough for hym to thrust hym selfe in  
to Chrystes place, and to auauce himselfe aboue god:  
but also he woulde depzaue the holy scriptures, & be  
in all poyntes quite contrary to Chryst. That all these  
thynges bee true hercof it maye appeare. Euen as  
Chryste hath left nothyng vnproued for vs, whiche  
are necessary for the mayntenaunce of oure naturall  
lyfe, so is it to be beleued that muche lesse he woulde  
leauē anye of those necessities vnprouyded, whiche  
shoulde appartayne to the spirituall lyfe. Therefore  
must we beleue that god hath declared vnto vs in the  
holy scriptures as much, as is nedefull, wherunto no  
creature must adde, neither take awaye one word, as  
God by Moses doth comaunde, for they only be in all  
poyntes perfect. Therefore Paule writinge to Timos-  
thie saith. All scripture inspired from aboue is profit-  
table to rebuke and amende, to instruct in righteous-  
nes, that a manne, who is dedicate to God, maye be  
bpryght and perfect in all good workes. Then by the  
doctrine of Paule it is playne that those thynges,  
whiche be conteyned in the holy scripture be sufficient  
to make a manne perfecte: whiche thyng must nedes  
be graunted, for Chryste disclosed to hys Apostles as  
to hys beloued frendes and children, all that he recei-  
ued of hys father. And afterwarde he opened their  
myndes by hys spirite, and declared vnto them the  
true meanyng of those thynges, which the same apo-  
stles dyd writ, preache, and publishe abroad plenti-  
fully: So that the gospel is mooste perfecte and full,  
as Paule wrote to the Hebrewes. And as for the pope  
he is all together contrary to all these thynges, that  
be spoken. first and formost he sayeth that holy scrip-  
ture is imperfect, and is not sufficient to declare fully  
all

Deu. xii.

1. Tim. iiii.

Antichriste  
saith that the  
scripture is  
insufficient.

all matters that belonge to saluacion, and that he  
 can adde vnto it, as he hath done, when he allowed  
 those booke that be apocripha, and of none authori-  
 tie, for holy booke, as though they were in the canon.  
 And also when he made an innumerable sorte of de-  
 crees, and decretalles, and commaundementes of  
 manue, and articles of our fayth. And he sayeth more  
 ouer (thoughe it be closly) that the twelue articles of  
 the faythe deliuered and preached by the Apostles be  
 not sufficient to saluacion. And then the Apostles bee  
 damned & all christian men, who hath not receyued  
 the lyghte of the articles, obseruacions, and com-  
 maundementes of the Pope. So that it must folowe  
 (in the name of God) that the Popes were wyser  
 then Christ hym selfe, or at the least wyse were more  
 mercifull, bycause they haue opened so many thynges  
 to the worlde, whiche bee (as they saye) necessarye to  
 oure saluacion, and neuer opened neither by Christ  
 nor god. But what a mischeuous dede is it, that all  
 these articles of the faythe made by the Pope, bee all  
 together repugnaunt, and quite contrarie to the arti-  
 cles of the Apostles, and to all holy scripture, as it is  
 well knowen. For bresely in the Creade, and in holye  
 scripture it is comprehended, that it is god by whose  
 goodnes and grace throughte Christ (who suffered  
 death for vs, who rose againe, and ascended into hea-  
 uen, and sitteth on the ryghte hande of God the fa-  
 ther) all creatures muste receyue saluacion, and also  
 fele hys plentiful loue towarde vs, through the ho-  
 ly gost, and that he, who beleneth in Christ, shal haue  
 lyfe euerlastyng as he hym selfe is a witnes. But the  
 contentes of the Popes articles bee all together con-  
 trary to thys geare, that is to say: that fayth in Christ

Antichriste  
 corrupteth  
 the articles  
 of our faith

is



is not sufficient to saluacion, and that it is necessarie  
to beleue, that the Pope hath authoritie ouer all. And  
that we must beleue accordyng to the doctrine of þe  
Pope, that neither the grace of Christ, nor the death of  
Christ is sufficient to saluacion, but that our merito-  
rious workes must also of necessitie be added, with  
confession deuised by the Pope, and hys absolutions,  
pardons, and prayer to Sayntes, and besydes all  
thys the fire of purgatory. And that the holy gost (as  
they saye) is not enoughe for the vnderstandynge of  
holy scripture, and to knowe the wyll and pleasure of  
God: but that the Pope muste expounde all thynges.  
No manne canne denye, but thys is a very settlinge of  
him selfe aboue God. Daniel wrote wonderfull lear-  
nedly of hym: saying that he shall induce men nough-  
tely and wickedly to breake their promyses, that they  
haue made to God. For euen as God, who is the well  
springe of all goodnes, promised in Abrahaham to be  
our god, that he woulde take þe charge of euery one of  
vs, & woulde gyue himself for vs, makynge vs perta-  
kers of all hys felicitie: And we agayne haue promi-  
sed hym, that we wyll be hys people, to aske and loke  
for al goodnes at his hand only, to acknowledge him  
onely our God, and will gyue thanks, and render ho-  
nor & wurshyp to him alone. On thother side the po-  
pe sayeth naye to this geare, that God is angry with  
vs, and that Christ coulde not sufficiently pacifie hys  
wrath, but that the Pope must helpe with his autho-  
ritie, and the Sayntes with their prayers, and meri-  
tes, & also we our selues with our good workes, and  
also the deuells with theyr fyre of purgatory. Ther-  
fore is it very trewe that Daniel sayd, that he shoulde  
chaunge the tymes, (he shoulde transpose the tyme  
of

Daniel. xl.

of grace into the tyme of the lawe, the tyme of light  
into the tyme of darknes. Neyther thinke they it a Antichrist  
corrupteth  
the lawes of  
God.  
dede mischieuouse enoughe, to make newe articles  
of the faythe, at theyr pleasure contrary to tharticles  
of god: excepte also they depzaue the lawe of god  
with their preceptes, and commaundementes, which  
commaundementes be also contrary to the commaun-  
dementes of God. For it is without controuersy, that  
all the lawe of God doeth depende vpon the loue  
towards god, and towards oure neighbour, and  
the pope myndynge to destroye bothe the partes of  
the lawe of god, hath infected purposely these two  
chiefe groundes, vpon the which hange al the lawe,  
the prophetes. For he affirmeth contrary to the expresse  
worde of God, that god requireth not necessarily of vs  
that we shoulde loue hym with all our hart, with all  
oure soule, and all oure mynde: but that we shoulde  
loue hym aboue al other thynges, affirminge that to  
be the commaundemente, and to loue god with all  
oure hearte is but a counsell. And as touchinge oure  
neighbour, of a lyke sort he sayeth, that it is a coun-  
sell, and a perfection, and not commaundement to loue  
oure enemy with all our hart, but that onely we  
ought to shewe outward tokens of loue towards  
our enemyes. And agayne, whereas the lawe is most  
perfect there sayth he, that it is vnperfecte, and therfore  
he holdeth that it is lawfull and that wee ought to  
adde some thing vnto it, and to doe some workes be-  
sydes them that be commaunded in the lawe of god,  
whiche be called supererogatory workes, that is to  
say workes, that be not commaunded. For this cause  
hath he deliuered new rules to the world, new tra-  
des of lyuynge, ordinaunces, and commaundementes,



Exod. xx

suche (it may chaunce) as he dreamed, when he was in  
some frensy, vtterlye pugniant, & cōtrary to þ cōmaū-  
dementes of god, wheras god commaunded himself  
onely to be wurshipped: he will also be wurshipped  
of vs, and mozeouer commaundeth vs, that we shall  
not onely worshop Sainctes, but also theyr dead bo-  
dies, and relikes. God willethe and commaundeth vs,  
that we shal make no ymage, neyther of himselfe, nei-  
ther of any other creature, any picture or similitude  
to be worshipped: The pope willethe & commaundeth  
ymages and pictures of Sainctes to be made, to bee  
set vp all aboute in the churche in euery corner, there  
to be wurshipped, that no place there bee boyde of  
ydolatrye. Of a lyke sorte god commaundeth that no  
man should take hys name in vayne, that is to saye,  
when a man promyseth any thyng by an othe tak-  
inge god to witnes, he muste kepe the thyng, that he  
promyseth: but the pope denieth that promes ought  
to be kept with heretikes, (as he taketh heretikes)  
that is to saye, with true Christian men: willinge and  
commaunding with expresse wordes, to deceaue the,  
that they maye be betrayed, and burned, though he  
haue sware the cōtrary neuer so much, taking god,  
and all sayntes to witnes. Yea he doeth pardon, for-  
geue, and absolue men from theyr rightfull othes in  
honest ciuile matters, so that it redounde to hys pro-  
fite and glory, & that he be rewarded lyberally ther-  
fore. God commaunded the Sabbath day to be kept  
holy. And sence Iesus Christ þ sōne of rightuousnes  
appered to the worlde, we ought to iudge all tymes  
of grace to be a most holy Sabbath, & to take all the  
tymes of our life without putting diuersitie betwene  
one daye and another to be all together holy, and to  
spend

Rem. xiii.

spende all together in the honour and glozy of God.  
 But the pope commaundeth the contrary, that there  
 shalbe a diuersitie betwene dayes, and tymes in ho-  
 lynges, that some daies shalbe halowed, yet with none  
 other kinde of religion, but idelnes, idolatry, & super-  
 sticion, in the remembraunce of some feast deuised by  
 hym, or of some Saynt, that he hath canonized,  
 all other tymes he taketh not to bee holye. God com-  
 maundeth honour to be geuen to the father and mo-  
 ther, and obedience to princes, whiche be ordeyned of  
 hym. The pope contrarywyse willet, that the chyl-  
 dren may, contrary to the myndes of theyr parentes  
 professe some superstitious, & deuylishe kinde of rel-  
 gion, and remaine tyed therein to theyr wicked bol-  
 es, yea though theyr father and mother pine for hun-  
 gar, and want the comfort of theyr children by the  
 reason of extreme necessitie. He will also haue all his  
 priestes, monkes, and nunes to be fre, & discharged  
 from all obedyence to theyr prince, and magistrates,  
 whiche be ordeyned of god. God commaundeth that  
 no man shall kyll: but this bloudy paricide, and man-  
 killer, being made dronke with the bloud of martirs,  
 and of Christian men graunteth full pardon to man-  
 killers and parricides, & to suche, as saye they fought  
 vnder the banner of the crosse of Christe, that by the  
 meanes of this deuylishe licence he may increase, and  
 amplify his cruell tyrannye. God forbiddeth adul-  
 tery, and all vncleannes, & commaundeth by the mouth  
 of Paule hym, who hath not the gifte of chastitie to  
 to mary a wyfe: but this shameles bauder dothe the  
 contrary, he forbiddeth marriage to al, that be anoynt-  
 ed of hym, whether they haue the gift of chastitie or  
 not, as though marriage were an vnholye, and an  
 vncleane

B b.ii.

vncleane

1. Cor. vii.



uncleane thyng, and not muche more holy, and more honest, then is theyr wiueles lyfe, and as though accordinge to the doctrine of Paule, matrimonie were not honorable, holpe, and vndefyled in all states. Yet in the meane space he graunteth to suche as hange vpon hym, all kindes of beastlynnes, and fylthye uncleannes. And also at sundrye tymes of the yere, and within sundry degrees deuised by him, he forbiddeth maryage for none other intent, but to kepe his honoꝛ inestimacion, and to get greate sūmes of money by dispensinge therewith. God commaundeth that no mā shal desiere another mans goodes: but this these vnder the pretence of Annates, Dimes, Pardones, Indulges, compositions, absolutions, dispensations, priuileges, blessinges, greues, and deuclish coactiōs, he ouer runneth, and robbeth al the whole world.

And as sone as these goodes bee gotten, or rather stolen together, come he by them by robbinge or stealinge neuer so: yet be they strayght waye made holy, & so holy, & they may not bee alienated without this theues licence. But why stand I so longe in this matter: for to knit by so great a matter in fewe wordes, whereas Christ came not to breake the lawe, but rather to fulfill it, he corrupted, infected, and depꝛaued al the whole law. Whereas Christe did abrogate & ceremoniall preceptes of the Jewes: he hath brought in al the deuclish supersticions of the gentiles. Therefore is that vndoubtedly trewe, that Daniell spake of him, that he shoulde chaunge the lawes. And he is not content to professe opely, that the merites of Christ be not enough, & that he fulfilleth the thing, & wāteth in tyme: except he maye further haue his saing & he is & Guarde and the destrybutour of the same merites of Christ

Math. 23

Dani. 9

Christ, and that it is his office to applye them for the quicke and the dead, as he shall thinke good, as who shoulde saye that Christ can not applye them, or els that he would not provide for the health of soules, so that there is moche more charitie in the Pope, then in Christ. What nedeth so many wordes? Christe neuer had, nor neuer shall haue, neither was there euer a greater enemye in the worlde to the gospel, then he is. He hath the continuall warre with the, that beleue in Christ, and with all, that bee godly and vertuous, and them he ouercometh with deceyte and crueltie, as Daniell sayed of hym before. Wherefore we be bound to confesse that he is the trewe greate Antichriste hymselfe.

Dani. xi.

Papi. Then erred the counsellors, where in it was decreed, that he should be Pope.

Tho. arch. That is as muche to saie as: Then erred the Bishoppes and Pharyseis, when they gathered a counsel together, and determined to crucifie Christ. I praye you doeth that seme so straunge a thyng, to confesse that they haue erred, whiche bee Bishoppes by name onely, but in dede tyrannes and wolues, and wretched berlettes iorned together in their sessions onely to maynteyne and stablishe their tyranny, wyc- kedly deprauinge the worde of God: Yf youre coun- selles can not erre, howe cometh it to passe, that ma- ny tymes one of them hath made contrary lawes to an other: And yf one counsell be contrary to an o- ther, as they be in dede, it must bee graunted, that one of them erred. Where as they speake purposely of the Pope, the counsell of Affryke made a lawe, that the Bishop of Rome shoulde not onely not be Pope, but also that he ought not to haue that name.

Bb. iii.

Then



Then either erred that counsell, or yours. Truly the  
wyl I beleue your counsell is gathered together by  
holy gost, and erred not, when I shall perceyue that it  
was not reuled, and lead by your sensuallitie, ambici-  
ous sekynge of honoꝝ, and by gyftes and rewardeſ,  
but by the worde of God: Yf you woulde expounde  
the scriptures to the contempt of youre selfe, and to  
the glory of God, I woulde thynke the matter might  
bee well taken. But if ye wil be the Iudges of holy  
scriptures, and then wyl expounde the same, as your  
dulnes, tyrannye, and selfe wyl shall leade you, wy-  
thynge the worde of God otherwise, then the trewe  
sence, and meanynge therof leauredeth you to the increa-  
synge, and establyshement of your tyrannye, mynding  
to vsurpe the dominion of the earth, heauen, and hell,  
that ye maye be wurthypped in earth as goddes, to  
the great rebuke of god: I doubt not but that you are  
gathered together in the spirite of the deuill. And you  
intende to proue to me, the Pope to be Pope by au-  
thoritie of the counsell. But those thinges that be esta-  
blished in the counsell (as you saye) be of none effecte,  
onles the Pope confirme them: but the Pope canne  
not confirme them onles he first be Pope: Therfore  
tell me first howe the Byshoppe of Rome was made  
Pope, and howe he can not erre in confirminge the  
decreeſ of the counsell: and then maye ye proue the  
Popeship by the counsell, for otherwyse is your ar-  
gument playne false, or at the least waye so made in a  
circle, that in disputacion it beginneth agayne, where  
it began before to no purpose

papi. Yf it were so that the Byshoppe of Rome were  
Antichrist in dede (as you saye) yet for asmuche, as he  
hathe bene accounted of Chyistian meune for Pope so  
many

many hundzeth yeres, and the chiefe Byshoppe of all other: then the church of Chziste had decayed longe agone contrary to hys promes, who sayed I am with you vnto the worldes ende.

Tho. arch. As touchyng this poynte, the same answer shallbee made to you now, that was made in tymes Mar. xxviii. past to Helias when he thought none aliue to imbrace the faythe of God, but himsele a' one, to whome God iii. Reg. xix. sayed, I haue p̄serued to my self seuen thousandes, who hath not bowed their knees before Baal. Euen so is it now, for in Europe, Affrike, and Asia, there were alwayes manye chzistian menne, who wurshipd not Antichzist.

Papi. What were they al Heritikes?

Thomas arch. They were by youre sayinge, for they woulde neither obey Antichziste, neither beleue purgatory, neither woulde they kepe the feast of Easter vpon the sondaye

Hen. Ye haue reasoned now enough and enough: now we see playnly, that this felowe, of whom we moued this questiō was, a is very right Antichzist. Frō hence forth we wil in no wise consent to his euilnes, lest god continue his anger agaynst vs. We haue suffered to longe a great Deale so intolerable a tyranny. We will proue suerly whether he be God, i yearth or not: And whether we haue more full authoritie in oure owne Dominions, and kingdomes then he hath, or not?

Papi. Then shal your maiestie loose your title of Defender of the fayth

Hen. Nay we wil be called the Destroyers of the false faythe of Antichziste, and maynteners of the trewe fayth of Chziste.

Edward



Kynge Edwarde  
the sixte.

The Lorde  
Protector.

Edyvvard.



Alexander the great dyd sette so  
muche by the honor, and glorie of  
the worlde, that when his father  
Philippe overcame moe and moe  
Cities, and contryes daylye, and  
all other men reioysed very much  
of hys victories. Yet he alone be-  
rynge of tender age lamented ve-  
ry muche therefore (not withstandynge that he ought  
to haue bene ioyfull and glad, beinge his fathers ouer-  
ly heire of all hys kyngdomes) thynkynge that hys  
father woulde preuent hym, and take awaye all occa-  
sions from hym, whereby he mighte compasse the do-  
minion of the worlde by hys owne wit and industrie,  
wherof shoulde insewe worthy renouwe, and im-  
mortall memorie, esteeminge a kingdome as nothynge  
without glorie: But for as muche, as it hath pleased  
God to lighten our mynde with the cleare bryghtnes  
of heauenly doctrine, & therby to gyue vs knowledge  
that he hath placed vs in thys seat of a king, that we  
shoulde direct the vse of oure scepter royall, and the  
sterne of oure gouernement not to the glorie of the  
worlde, but to the glorie of hym: so muche more we  
be studious of the glorie of God, aboue that the glorie  
of the world, as we know that the one is heauenlye,  
excellent, and durable, and the other vayne, flydynge  
awaye, and able to continue but for a whyle. And we  
can not but lament euen from the botom of our heart  
euen

even in this tender age of ours, when we see our onely  
Lorde, and saviour Jesus Christe with no small  
rebuke of hys heauenlye and eternall father Driven  
out of his seat, & kingdom: & such a cruell, and wicked  
tyraunte placed in hys rourne. Wherefore we be very  
desierfull to restore Christ into his owne former place  
agayne, that by him god may be honoured, not myn-  
dinge in any wise to suffer suche abhominacion to re-  
mayne within oure dominions. All Christian menne  
haue ever moze abhorred the name of Antichrist: and  
shall we haue hym at home with vs. Knowinge hym  
to be suche a one, as he is, and shall leue hym vnban-  
nished out of the coastes of our countreyes: That shal  
neuer be. Suerly all the treasures, honours, frende-  
shippes, pleasures, and all the happie condicions of  
thys worlde canne neuer make vs happye, no not so  
much as in thys lyfe, so longe as we see not Christe  
him selfe, & not Antichrist, reigne in the hartes of his  
subiectes. The maiestie Royall of kynge Henry the  
viij. of famousse memory oure naturall father began  
thys worthye and noble enterpryse, that we intende,  
whose steppes we will followe for the performaunce  
of hys wyll, seynge that he beinge pveniented with  
deathe coulde not bynge that thinge to suche perfect  
end, as hys mynd was at the fyrste attemptinge ther-  
of. We haue determined therefore to pursue the fa-  
mousse enterpryse of oure moste famousse father, and  
not onely to plucke vp by the rootes, and bitterlye ban-  
nische out of our kingdome the name of Antichrist and  
his Jurisdiction: but also clearely to purge & minde  
of oure subiectes from all wycked idolatry, heresie,  
and superstycion, and suche lyke deuylshnes as by  
hym was brought in.

C c. i.

And



E  
And for asmuche as there is none other thyng  
that moueth vs thus to doe but the onely glory of  
god: we doubt not but that Christ wilbe with vs, and  
will rule oure councelles and doynges with his holy  
sprite. And althoughe I doubt not but that you study  
likewise with an earnest feruentnes of spirite to set  
forthe this high glory of god: yet haue we thought  
good to disclose thys oure intent and purpose to you  
being our dearely beloued and faythful counsaylours  
To thintent that thys godly dede maye be the more  
spedely brought to passe.

Counseil. Suerly your maiesty could haue tolde vs no-  
thyng that could haue pleased vs better either that  
canne be more to the glory of God: more profytable  
to the common welthe, or elles more worthy and ho-  
norable to a Christian kynge. Wherefore we be com-  
pelled to render immortal thanks to God, and ha-  
uinge a tast of youre graces wisdom by thys thing,  
to hope for greater and more excellent enterprises of  
you then any manne would conceaue, in that we per-  
ceauie so muche sage and auncient wisdom in thys  
your so tender age, and so feruent a Zeale to the set-  
tinge forth of goddes glorye. For thys thyng is  
commonly seen by the common course of nature that  
suche menne as be of the common sort and of slender  
corage, be colde and slacke in the waye of the Lorde,  
yea and be many tymes offended with suche a confu-  
sion and varietie of iudgementes, when they see no-  
ble men so caryed with a blynde and a wicked zeale  
with all that euer they canne make for the defense of  
wicked Babylon, and of theyr deuylishe Antichrist, not  
stayinge with bloody handes and bloody hartes to bee  
glutted

glutted and made dronke with the bloude of Chyſte  
and of his electes, & many times alſo haue they the  
better hand, as the heauenly prophet Daniel prophe-  
cied. But your princely maiestie, as one indued with  
a high and a heauenly courage, haue intended a glo-  
ryouse enterpryse, and that beinge styred bp and in-  
flamed thereunto with a feruent zeale to the glozve  
of god, and ye haue taken vpon you the cause of  
Chyſte and hys electes agaynſte all the enemies of  
god. Neither canne there bee any more worthe  
meanes deuised to ſet forth both the glozve of god  
and alſo of youre moſte excellent maiestie. And it is  
not to be douted but that god will vſe your maiestie  
as a heauenly meane and a faultles instrument to o-  
uerthrowe hys greate enemy, euen as in tymes paſt  
he vſed Dauid for an instrumente to ouerthrowe *1 Reg. viii*  
Goliath. Your maiestie maye ſtryke of hys head as  
Dauid Goliathes, euen with hys owne ſworde, that  
is to ſaye, with the worde of God, whiche he hathe  
moſte fylthely abuſed in deſpyte of Chyſte. There  
were verely not a fewe of the olde Emperours who  
attempted the puttyng downe of thys tyrannye,  
as Henry the fourth & fiſt, Lewes the fourth, Fre-  
dericke the fyrſte and ſeconde, and many moe, who  
coude not onercome hym becauſe he reygned in the  
myndes of men: and the people tooke hym for theyr  
god in earth, they feared his thunderboltes & excom-  
munications, they thought theſelues dāpned yf they  
contraryed hym neuer ſo litle, & therefore coude they  
not in good earneſt put on theyr harnes & take theyr  
weapons, with a valyant corage of ſpīrite, to dely-  
uer the Chyſtian common welthe from thys ſo  
C c. ii. greate



great a tyranny. ed. Yf we minde to ouercome him  
in short space, we must fyrste goe about to dryue him  
out of the heartes of menne: for as soone, as he hath  
once lost his spiritual kingdome in mens consciences,  
he shall forgoe by and by al the rest of his iurisdiction,  
without any greate difficultie. And to dryue him out  
of the heartes of men it is not nedefull to vse sword,  
nor violence: the sworde of the spirite, that is the  
worde of god, is sufficient, wherby Christe ouercame  
and conquered hys enemy Sathan in the desert. For  
all his whole popeshippe is nothinge elles but a ma-  
nifest deceyt, and lye. What thyng canne it bee elles  
but a lye, to saye the churche was buylded by Christ  
bpō Peter: and that Peter was instituted by Christ  
the heade of the other apostles, and of the vniuersall  
churche: and that Cephas, in oure tonge signifieth a  
heade: and that when Christ saied to Peter, fede me  
shepe, he made him the onely shepard of soules, and  
gaue to hym alone the keyes of the kingdome of hea-  
uen, and power to loose and bynde: yt is also a verye  
wayne lye to saye, Peter was at Rome, and that Pe-  
ter had authority geuen him of Christ to leaue there,  
and also that he left there the chiefe byshoppes seate,  
as in one certayne p'ace, there by succession continue  
ally to remayne to the byshoppes of Rome, (as they  
holde opinion) it is also a manifest lye, and deceyte to  
saye, that Christe is not oure onely sauour, medy-  
cator, and aduocat. Purgatory also deuised by them  
is a lye, and theyr lately deuised confessions, absou-  
tions, pardons, Jubelies, blessinges, cursinges, and  
excommunications, bee all lyes. And also theyr he-  
resies, hipocrisies, Idolatry, promesses, flatteringes  
supersticio, & theyr deuellishe, & tyrannicall authoritie,  
which

which they vsurpe, and challenge, with al their whole  
Popchod be altogether lyes. Wherefore seinge the  
word of god is, & most bright light, at the sight wher  
of all falsehod, and lyes be knownen, and auoyded, and  
the trueth appeareth inuinsible: it muste nedes be, that  
enē as Darkenes banisheth away at þ sight of þ sūne  
euen so at the shynge of goddes worde all lyes, de  
ceytes, treasōs, & wickednes of the Pope shal decaye  
& utterly be plucked vp by þ rotes. This is þ spiritu  
all sword by whose edge (as Paule prophecied) he  
must be slaine. Wherefore if we minde to attayne ho  
nor, & glozy, that neuer shal perishe by thys noble en  
terpryse, we muste searche all about and get the most  
faythfull ministers of goddes worde, whiche be in  
dued with a great light of þ spirite, in the knowledgē,  
and exposition of the scriptures, with a heauenly elo  
quence, boldnes, and lybertye, whiche ministers  
bothe canne, and will prynte Christe in the heartes of  
manne. Then with out doubt shal Antichrist, and all  
his whole kingdom be ouerthrowē by and by. This  
must be oure hoste, these must be oure fote men, these  
must be our horse men, if we mynde to overcome this  
enemie of god. And yf we can not fynde enough suche  
menne within oure owne dominions, they muste bee  
sought for where so euer they maye be founde, good  
learnig must be made much of, & promoted forward,  
good wittes must bee nourished, and prouoked to lear  
nyng & studie, that the heauenly philosophie of Christ  
maye reigne alwayes in oure kingedom. Then suerly  
shal we not be ashamed, whē we shalbe neuer so much  
excommunicated of þ wicked romishe Robber: but we  
shal rather reioyce, & with a valiant and bold corage,  
we shal laugh to scozne his cursinges, and blessings

Cc.iii. all together



all together: not settinge a strawe by the whole rab-  
ble of the rest of hys wickednes, his absolucions, dis-  
pensacions, priuileges, bulles, and pardons,  
Ed. Throughe the sinne of oure fore father Adam we  
bee naturallie so fraile, and weake, so blinde and fro-  
ward, & we seke for nothinge els but our owne. Where-  
fore yf we will be moued to set forth and amplifie the  
most high glozy of god, it is he that must moue & stirre  
vs with hys heauenly spirite. And for asmuche as we  
knowe, and bee very well assured that all oure desire  
and purposes concerninge thys matter bee bent to-  
wardes the glozy of god, & according to his word, we  
maye be bolde to saye that thys intente of ours is a  
worke of God. Therefore euen as it canne not be, that  
God wyl forsake him self, and leaue of to be God: So  
also can it not be but that he wyl further thys worke  
to a good ende (whiche is not oures, but altogether  
his,) we doubt not therfore, but that God wyll be of  
our syde, and that he wyl triumphe ouer hys enemies.  
*Counsel* Shierly it shalbe a very easie thyng to obteyne  
what thyng soeuer is godly of youre maiesties sub-  
iectes. For euen as after the transgression of Adam,  
god grafted a certayne terriblenes of countenaunce  
in manne wherby he shoulde make beastes affrayed  
with lokyng vpon manne, lest they shoulde hurt hym.  
So hath he indued subiectes with a certayne natu-  
rall feare towardes their leage lordes, that they may  
reuerently obey them. And therfore yf a pynce or kyng  
intende a thyng, and then declare thesame to be hys  
mynde, and pleasure with a certayne effectualnes, and  
authoritie: by and by they all obey, namelye when he  
offereth matters vnto them, that be iuste and godlye,  
but as for the trweth of the doctrine of the gospell, is  
of

of it selfe most effectual, & thertore we doubt not but  
it wil come to passe that it shall gladly be receyued of  
al menne, especially, when it shalbe offered vnto them  
of the maiestie of a kynge, and he shall confirme the  
same with vprightnes of lif. Neither is it to be doub-  
ted that the gospel should breed any tumulte in these  
Dominions, or cause any sediciō or losenes of libertie,  
for Christe dothe approue, and confirme chieselye the  
power and authoritie of princes, and magistrates, and  
causeth menne to thynke humbly, and lowely of them  
selues, & to loue peace and quietnes, and therfore as  
thoughe they were gentle lambes, it shalbe an easie  
thyng, & no great payne to rule them.

**Ed.** We know ryght well that a sicke body, which  
is ful of corrupt humors, can not be purged, and clen-  
sed wthout some commocion, and stirryng of the bo-  
dy and membres: and euen so is it of our kingdomes.  
And we also knowe that the gospel is a molte swete  
and pleasant medecine to the chosen of god, although  
it turne the stomake of suche, as be reiected. And euen  
as he shoulde not bee a good father, who hauinge a  
sōne sicke, that he could make whole again with some  
medicīne: and yet durst not minister the same vnto him  
for feare of stirryng of hys body, & so suffer hys sonne  
to perish with the greatnes of the disease; So should  
not we bee a good kynge, yf, when we shall see oure  
people sicke of a spirituall disease (as in dede we doe)  
shoulde suffer them to perishe eternally for feare of a  
cōmocion, & should not minister vnto them the whole-  
some medecine of the gospel, wherby to restore them  
agayne to health. Wherfore we be in a full readynes  
to aduenture not onely our honoz, but also our lyfe it  
selfe for the wealth of our people, and for the glory of

**Cc.iii.**

**GOD**



God. There be not a few, that will goe about to keepe  
vs from this noble enterpryse. They saye that the  
Greekes, and other nations of the East partes of the  
worlde were punished of God by the tyrannye of the  
Turke, because they refused to obey the Pope. As  
though the Popes tyranny were not a great Deale  
greater and crueller then is the tyranny of the Turke.  
Or as though Affryke, and Asia had in tymes past  
bene subiect to the Pope. Neither minde we to rente  
or louse the seemeles coate of Christ, as some perad-  
venture will thynke, who hath cut it into so manye  
smale peces, that it canne be deuised nomore. But we  
mynde to cutte and teare asunder the beale of hypo-  
crysie that their vice and wickednes maye be knowen  
of all menne. This thing is without question: as ofte  
as euer the Turke hath fought with the Christian  
menne, for the most parte he hath had the ouer hand,  
whiche God suffered so to be, not onely to punish vs  
for that in stead of Christe, we haue wurshipped An-  
tichrist: but also because he minded by litle a litle to  
withdraue vs, and deliuer vs from the wicked ty-  
ranny of Antichrist. And it is not to be doubted, but  
euen as the Jewes be punished chiefly for the sinnes  
of their priestes, because they were the causers of the  
deathe of Christe: so be the Christian men punished  
this daye for the sinnes of Antichrist, and his priestes  
who haue crucified Christ agayne muche more in de-  
spite of God, then the Jewes dyd in tymes past.  
Wherefore yf we will preuaile agaynst the Turke,  
firste lette vs thrust this wicked manne out of the  
churche of God, whiche is a home dwellyng Turke,  
for whose sinnes God beinge offended with vs vseth  
that whippe for the punishmente of the Christians,  
ana

and when god is once pleased, and contented agayne  
with vs, we shall easelye by goddes helpe giue hym  
the ouerthrowe. Therefore let vs dryue all heresie,  
idolatrie, supersticion, & wickednes, out of the church  
of god, and then shall we not onely triumphe ouer the  
turkes: but also they will bee conuerted to Christe,  
when they shall see the beames of the light of the  
gospel, and the holy life of the Christians sprede ouer  
al. This arrant thefe of Rome hath robbed y<sup>e</sup> worlde  
vnder the pretence of religion, and battayle agaynste  
the turkes, and to deliuer the Christians, whiche bee  
amongest the turkes in seruitude and bondage. Let  
hym nowe dryue hym selfe out of the church of god,  
if he mynde to delyuer vs out of bondage, whiche is  
much more cruell and tyrannical then the other. Let  
hym dryue Sathan out of hym selfe and out of  
his wicked Babilon and then beinge conuerted and  
armed with spirituall vertues, and with the sworde  
of goddes worde, folowing the ramp'e of Christ, and  
hys apostles, let hym fyght agaynste gods enemies.  
And if it so be that he canne not be amended, but wil  
continue on still in hys wicked and cruell tyrannye,  
so that he will copeil force to be made, let it be made,  
agaynste hym, for he onely noyeth more the church of  
Christe, then all the enemies of god ioyned together.  
We hate not the popes parson, but hys abhominati-  
ons, whome all menne ought of deutie to abhoze.  
Counsell. Euen as y<sup>e</sup> doctrine of the gospel excelleth  
all other kindes of learninge in purenes, gentlenes,  
pleasauntnes, propfytablenes, excellencie, and  
wonderfulnes: So if it bee infected once with neuer  
so litle an heresy, it is more pestilent and pernicious  
then



then anye other. Wherefore lette vs doe all oure inde-  
uoure that it being purged from all false and super-  
stitious imaginacions, and mannes traditions maye  
bee ministred to the people, pure, simple, and sincere,  
as it is of it selfe. And as concernynge the articles of  
the faythe, the worde of God ought to be sufficient,  
except we wyll seeme wiser then God hym selfe.

And as touchynge woorkes, the lawe that God  
hym selfe hath made, whiche is most pure and holye  
shal be sufficiente. Whose preceptes be without spot,  
sounde, and cherefull to the mynde. Whereunto  
Christes interpretacion muste bee annexed. And as  
for prayer and inuocation, what shal wee rather  
alowe then the Lordes prayer, whiche the sonne  
of God hymselfe taught vs. Whiche teacheth vs  
playnely and fullie what we ought to aske of God.  
And it also teacheth howe we ought to aske all  
gyftes of God, throughe Christe oure mediatoure,

Forsothe it is a wicked thyng to desyer to bee  
more wyse then was Christe hymselfe: who dely-  
uered vs that prayer as a perfecte forme of prayer,  
wherefore it canne not bee well to adde any thyng  
thereunto. Trulye all doctrine that is necessarye for  
saluacyon is playne and cleare yf we darken it not  
with the darkenes of mannes inuentions.

We wyll therefore dooe oure dyligence, fyrste to  
put a waye all suche thynges as maye bee a hynde-  
rance to the goinge forwarde of the Gospell,  
and hauynge allwayes goddes honour before oure  
eyes, & the helthe of soules, we will pray that he wyll  
graunt vnto vs that purenes and earnestnes of spirit,

that

that we maye sette forth hys glory, and serue hym in  
holines, and that we may through Iesus Christ  
oure redemer gyue all prayse, glo-  
ry, and honoꝛ to God the fa-  
ther euerlastynge.

Amen.

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